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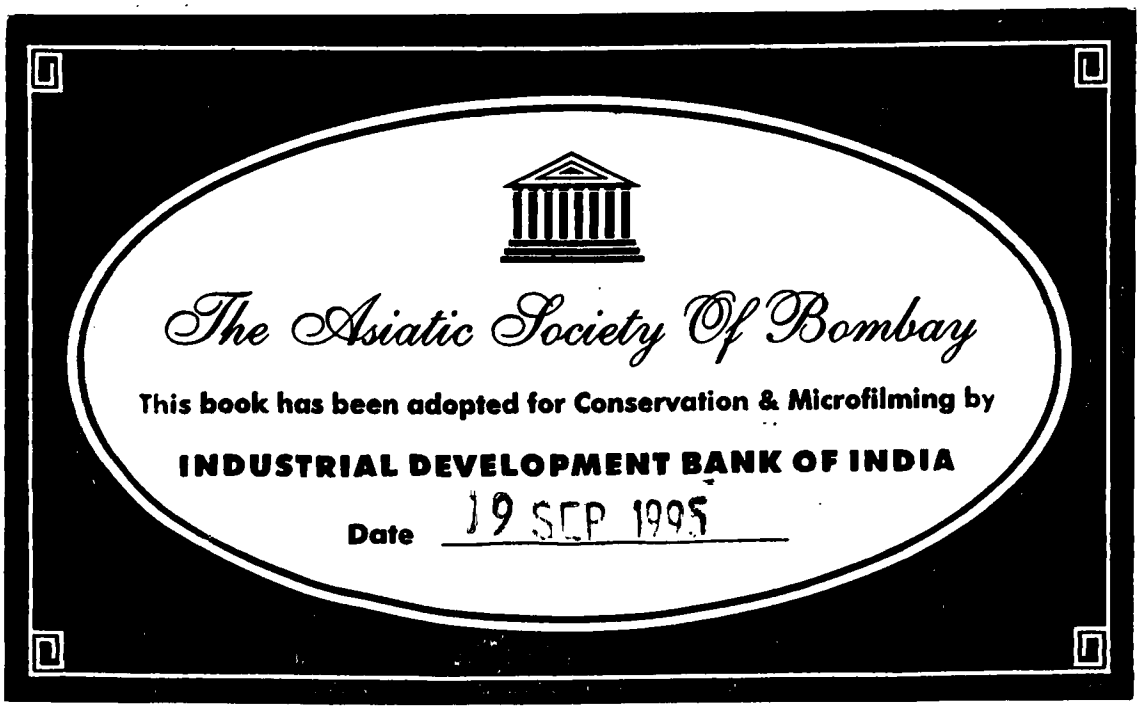
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THE

# History

OF

# BENGAL

FROM

THE FIRST MOHAMMEDAN INVASION

UNTIL THE VIRTUAL

CONQUEST OF THAT COUNTRY BY THE ENGLISH

A. D. 1757.

86703

BY

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PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN THE HONOURABLE EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S COLLEGE, HERTS.
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AND TRANSLATOR OF THE TRAVELS OF MIRZA ABU TALEB KHAN.

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1813.

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TO THE

CHAIRMAN, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN,

AND

DIRECTORS

OF

THE HONOURABLE EAST-INDIA COMPANY,

THIS HISTORY

OF THE

FINEST PROVINCE UNDER THEIR DOMINION

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT

AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

*CHARLES STEWART.*

HERTFORD,
*May* 25, 1813.

# PREFACE.

In offering this work to the public, I do not flatter myself that, to the generality of English readers, it will have many attractions; but to those whose views are not confined to the circle of domestic occurrences, or European politics, I trust it will not be unacceptable.

Every Traveller in a foreign country must be sensible, with how much more interest he views the monuments of antiquity of whose history he has acquired a previous knowledge, than those vestiges of former times which, from his ignorance of the events connected with them, he can only contemplate as useless heaps of ruins, or admire merely for their romantic situations or picturesque beauties.

To those therefore who are looking forward to Bengal as their place of sojourn for several years, a work which faithfully details the events that have been transacted in the country they are about to visit, will, I should hope, prove both instructive and interesting: and to those who have already been resident in the East, it may be presumed to afford some pleasing reflections, by recalling to their minds scenes where many of them will probably acknowledge they have spent the happiest period of their lives. To a few, the subject of this book will be no novelty: but those Gentlemen will probably

confess, that they acquired their knowledge at the expense of much time and application, a part of which they would gladly have spared.

Of the degree of information it may afford to the politician and statesman, I shall leave others to speak. It is to be regretted, that, in the details of the transactions of the Musselman kings or governors, the narration is seldom varied, by any account of the state of civilization, or of the progress of the arts and sciences: but in a despotic government, where the tyrant was every thing, and the people of no political consequence, and in a state where every individual was a soldier, and educated from his childhood in military habits, it is not to be expected that the historians, generally pensioners of the monarch, should adorn their pages with a detail of circumstances not suited to the taste of their readers.

The greater part of this work is composed of translations made by myself from Persian Historians: I have, however, not declined to make use of the translations of other persons on whom I could depend (which are all noticed in their proper places); and I have availed myself of the assistance of European writers wherever it offered.

To Mr. Bruce's elaborate work I owe much of my information respecting the East-India Company.

To Mr. Jackson, keeper of the Records at the India House, I am indebted for the liberal manner in which he assisted my researches in his office; by which I was enabled to correct the dates of many events that had been mistaken or omitted by the native historians, and to procure copies of the *Firmāns* or Royal Orders inserted in the Appendix: and I freely confess, that without this assistance many of the antient documents

would have been as unintelligible to me, as a *Shekestch* manuscript is to a young Persian scholar. The office of Indian Records being unfortunately in a damp situation, the ink is daily fading, and the paper mouldering into dust. The constant attention of Mr. Jackson and his assistants is therefore required to take copies of those documents which are fast vanishing from sight, and in forming a methodical arrangement of the new transcripts.

To CHARLES WILKINS, LL.D. and F.R.S. I return thanks for the trouble he had in selecting and forwarding to me the Persian Manuscripts from the East-India Company's Library.

I beg leave also to return my thanks to WILLIAM WRIGHT, Esq. auditor to the East-India Company, for the information received from his office.

In the progress of this work, generally speaking, I have had no reason to complain of a paucity of materials; but rather of such an abundance, that I have found some difficulty in compressing the narrative within the compass of one volume. Many things, however, have probably escaped my attention; and as Gentlemen residing in Bengal may, by their local inquiries, be enabled to detect mistakes, and to explain some points upon which I have expressed doubts, I shall consider myself obliged to any person who will furnish me with the means of supplying omissions, or of correcting errors.

Throughout the work, I have preserved the date of the Hejira, for the advantage of Oriental scholars, who may have an opportunity of conversing with natives of India on the subject; and to enable them more readily to compare this book with the authors I have mentioned. I must, however, request of them, not to decide hastily against me, because

I differ from the first author they may read; but that they will suspend their judgment till they have compared both with some other contemporary historian.

I have annexed a List of the Books consulted in the compilation of this work; not with a view of making a parade of Oriental learning, but to evince that great pains have been taken to collect the best information that could be obtained. For the same reason, I have prefixed a correct Map of Behar and Bengal, with parts of Orissa and Arracan; which although it unavoidably adds to the expense of the book, will, I trust, amply compensate the purchaser by its utility.

To the CHAIRMEN and DIRECTORS of the Honourable East-India Company I beg to express my obligations, for their liberal patronage of this work: And having endeavoured to render it worthy the attention of the Public, I submit it, with deference, to that impartial tribunal.

# PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

In a work professing to be a History of Bengal, it will probably be expected to find some account of the original inhabitants of the country; and a detail of their gradual rise, from a state of barbarism, to that high degree of civilization in which they were found when first visited by Europeans. In both these respects, I am sorry to say, the reader will be disappointed. Although the Hindoos of Bengal have an equal claim to antiquity and early civilization with the other nations of India, yet we have not any authentic information respecting them during the early ages of their progress; nor is there any other positive evidence of the antient existence of Bengal, as a separate kingdom, for any considerable period, than its distinct language and peculiar written character. It is said to have been, at various periods, tributary to the sovereigns of Oude, Dehly, and Magadha (the present Behar); but, at other times, that its Rajas extended their conquests as far as Benaras*.

Abul Fazil, secretary to the Emperor Akbar, has given, in the *Ayeen Akbery*, a list of sixty-one kings of Bengal, who reigned over that country before the Mohammedan invasion; and although he has in some measure destroyed its credibility, by an ill-judged attempt to make it conform with

* See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX. pp. 73, 112. 8vo edit.

Brahminical antiquity*, yet there is little doubt that it rests on a foundation† of truth; and if twenty or twenty-five years be allowed for each reign, previous to the period of the invasion, viz. A. D. 1203-4, it will give the Bengalese sufficient claim to antiquity.

Mr. Wilford says‡, that Sudruc, or Sudruca, the thirteenth person on the list, was a celebrated conqueror and powerful emperor, and that he lived about the beginning of the Christian æra. But as this is a topic upon which the learned are divided, and as I am credibly informed that materials have been and are still collecting for furnishing an authentic account of the Hindoo governments, I shall dwell no longer on this subject; in the hope that we shall one day be favoured with a history of Bengal from the pure mine of Sanscrit literature.

The province of Bengal is one of the most valuable acquisitions that was ever made by any nation. It is situated between the 21st and 27th degrees of northern latitude, and between the 86th and 92d of eastern longitude; being in

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* As a proof of the uncertainty of Hindoo Chronology, it may be sufficient to state, that the commencement of the Calee Yoog, upon which all antient Hindoo history must depend, is calculated, by the Brahmins at 3100 years B. C.; by the Jinas, 1078 years; by Mr. Wilford, 1370; by Sir William Jones, 1305; and by Mr. Bently, only 57 B. C. See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IV. pp. 89, 319. and vol. IX. pp. 86, 87, 89. 8vo edit.

† My reasons for giving Abul Fazil so much credit are, first, that he was doubtless a person of very superior ability and indefatigable research: secondly, that he was employed by a monarch who was beloved by the Hindoos, and who withheld no information from him: thirdly, that he was assisted by several learned Pundits, and other intelligent persons: and lastly, that every Hindoo family of distinction retained a herald, whose office it was to keep a register of the birth of each child, and a particular account of the alliances formed by marriage with other families, and every other circumstance connected with genealogy.

‡ See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX. page 202. 8vo edit.

breadth about 300, and in length 400 miles: its area contains nearly twenty-one degrees square. On the north and east it is defended by impenetrable mountains; and on the south by a line of inhospitable and dangerous sea-coast, containing but one harbour capable of admitting vessels of any size; and even that one guarded by innumerable shoals. Its western frontier, although exposed to invasion, is, in many places, so strongly defended by Nature, that fewer troops are requisite to protect it than any other country of similar extent on the continent of Asia. Its numerous navigable rivers, in the possession of a maritime nation, are also so many sources of defence, that should the English ever be driven from all the other parts of India, they may find in Bengal an asylum where no enemy will venture to follow them. Thus secure from a foreign invader, they are equally safe from any insurrection of the natives, whose mildness of disposition and aversion to war are such, that nothing short of the most atrocious cruelty, or of religious persecution, could induce them to draw their swords against their present masters.

If Nature has been thus bountiful to Bengal in its means of external defence and internal security, she has not been less liberal in bestowing on it every other blessing that a nation can desire. Its fertile soil produces every thing requisite for the food of man or animal; and in such abundance, that the crops of one year are sufficient for the consumption of its inhabitants for two. It is thereby enabled to supply all other parts of India with its superabundance; and to become the granary of the East, as Egypt formerly was of the West. In variety of fruits and animals it equally abounds; and yields every other article requisite for the comfort, or even luxury, of

man. The ingenious inhabitants of Bengal, being well versed in all the arts of useful industry, require no assistance from other countries; whilst their delicate and valuable manufactures are exported to every part of the world. The revenues of Bengal and Orissa, consisting chiefly of rents paid for land, the property of which is vested in the sovereign*, were fixed by Raja Todermul, about the year 1582 (during the reign of the Emperor Akbar), at one crore, six lacs, ninety-three thousand one hundred and fifty-two rupees; or, at 8 rupees per pound sterling, 1,336,644*l.* During the government of Sultan Shujaa they were raised to one crore, thirty-one lacs, fifteen thousand nine hundred and seven rupees, or 1,639,418*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* In the year 1722 they were increased, by the Nuwab Moorshud Cooly Jaffier Khan, to one crore, fifty-two lacs, forty-five thousand five hundred and sixty-one rupees, or 1,780,595*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* For the year 1811-12 the land revenues of Behar, Bengal, and Orissa, amounted to two crore and seventy-two lacs of rupees: deducting seventy lacs for Behar, there remains two crore and two lacs for Bengal and Orissa, or 2,525,000*l.* sterling; which, after allowing 1,025,000*l.* for their proportion of the expenses of the government, leaves a surplus revenue from Bengal and Orissa of 1,500,000*l.*; either to be applied to the purchase of investments or the support of other provinces, or even to be remitted home in specie, whenever the exigencies of the State may require it†. There is also a permanent annual

* This right, or claim, was given up to the zemindars, by Lord Cornwallis, when he made the perpetual settlement in 1793.

† In October 1811, forty lacs of rupees were brought from Bengal, and were sold to the Bank of England for 495,527*l.* sterling.

revenue, of fifty lacs of rupees, derived from salt and opium, to be added to the account. These must be acknowledged to be great and solid advantages; without taking into consideration the vast increase of commerce and addition to the revenue, arising from the trade of Bengal.

Having thus, I hope, clearly shewn the advantage of Bengal to Great Britain, I trust the Reader may feel equally well assured, that the connection between the two Countries has been beneficial also to the natives of Bengal.

In the following remarks, from the 5th Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East-India Company, I most heartily concur; and believe them, from my own experience, to be perfectly well founded.

"The strength of the Government of British India, di-
"rected as it has been, has had the effect of securing its
"subjects, as well from Foreign depredation, as from internal
"commotion. This is an advantage rarely experienced by the
"subjects of Asiatic States; and, combined with a domestic
"administration, more just in its principles, and exercised
"with far greater integrity and ability than the native one
"that preceded it, may sufficiently account for the improve-
"ments that have taken place; and which, in the Bengal
"Provinces, where peace has been enjoyed for a period of
"time perhaps hardly paralleled in Oriental history, have
"manifested themselves in the ameliorated condition of the
"great mass of the population; although certain classes may
"have been depressed by the indispensable policy of a foreign
"government. The nature and circumstances of our situation
"prescribe narrow limits to the prospects of the natives,
"in the political and military branches of the public ser-
"vice: strictly speaking, however, they were foreigners who

" generally enjoyed the great offices in those departments, even
" under the Moghul government: but to agriculture and com-
" merce every encouragement is afforded, under a system of
" laws, the prominent object of which is, to protect the weak
" from oppression, and to secure to every individual the fruits
" of his industry. The Country, as may be expected, has,
" under these circumstances, exhibited, in every part of it,
" improvement, on a general view, advancing with accele-
" rated progress in latter times."

# LIST OF PERSIAN BOOKS

USED IN THE

COMPILATION OF THIS WORK.

## 1. *Taj al Muasir.*

MEMOIRS of the celebrated Mohammed Ghory; commencing with his invasion of Hindoostan, A. D. 1191, and terminating with his death in 1206. See the second Section of this Work.

It was written between the years 1206 and 1220, at Dehly, by *Hussein Nizāmy*, of Nishapore.

The greater part of it is in verse, and it contains much Arabic.

## 2. *Tabkat Nassiry.*

This Work is divided into many Sections, and may be considered as a General History of the Oriental Mohammedans, till the destruction of the Khalifat by Halagou Khan, A. D. 1258; to which is added an account of Genghiez Khan and his descendants.

The Author was *Minhaje Seraje Addeen Omar al Giorjany.* It was finished in the year 1258-9.

This is a very valuable book, and is written in a clear unaffected style.

## 3. *Tārīkh Alufy.*

A General History of the Mohammedans for One thousand Lunar Years; viz. from the æra of the Hejira, A. D. 622, to 1592. It was compiled by a Society of Learned Men at the Court of the Emperor Akbar, at the head of which was *Molana Ahmed* of Tatta. The Preface was written by *Abul Fazil*, in the end of the 16th century.

## 4. *Tabkat Akbery.*

A General History of India, in Nine Sections, commencing A. D. 975, and terminating with 1593. The fifth Section is on Bengal.—Author, *Nizām Addeen Ahmed*, of Herat. Dedicated to the Emperor Akbar, about the year 1600.

## 5. *Tārīkh Ferishteh.*

A General History of India, in Twelve Sections, commencing A. D. 975, and terminating with 1605.—Written by *Mohammed Kazim Ferishteh*, and dedicated to Abool Muziffir Ibrahim Adil Shah II. of Bijāpore in the Dekkan, A. D. 1609.

N. B. The two first sections of it have been translated by Colonel Dow, and the third by Mr. Scott. I have given the substance of the seventh section, on Bengal.

## 6. *Akbar Nāmeh.*

A copious, but very adulatory, History of the Emperor Akbar; comprising a minute detail of the first forty-seven years of his reign; to which is prefixed an abridged History of his Ancestors.—The Author was the celebrated *Shaikh Abul Fazil Allamy*, Secretary to Akbar. Written in the end of the 16th century.

## 7. *Zubdet al Tuārīkh.*

*Select Parts of History*; being a succinct Account of the Mohammedan Kings of Dehly, till the conclusion of the reign of Akbar: also an Account of the Mohammedan Kings of Malwa, Guzerat, Dekkan, Cashmire, Tatta, Moultan, Bengal, and Joanpore. Author, *Noor al Huk Shereky*; probably of Joanpore. No date.

## 8. *Jehāngire Nāmeh.*

A succinct Account of the Reign of Jehāngire, who mounted the throne of Hindoostan A. D. 1605, and died in 1627.—Author, *Muatimed Khan.*

## 9. *Shah Jehān Nāmeh.*

A very excellent History of the Emperor Shah Jehān, written the year after his confinement by Aurungzebe, viz. A. D. 1659.—Author, *Mohammed bin Saleh.*

## 10. *Aalumgire Nāmeh.*

History of the first ten years of the Reign of Aurungzebe; written A. D. 1688-9. Author, *Mirza Mohammed Cazim.*

## 11. *Muasir Aalumgiry.*

A continuation of the above History, till the death of that Monarch in February 1707. Written in 1710.—Author, *Mohammed Sāky Mustaid Khan.*

## 12. *Muntekhub al Lebab,* or *Tārīkh Khāfy Khan.*

An excellent History of Hindoostan, commencing with the Invasion of Sultān Baber, A. D. 1519, and continued to the Accession of Mohammed Shāh, A. D. 1718.—Written in 1732. Author, *Mohammed Hashem Khāfy Khan.*

## 13. *Muasir al Omrah at Timouryeh.*

Memoirs of the Nobility who flourished under the Auspices of the House of Timour (Tamerlane), in India.—Authors, *Abd al Hy Nuaz Khan*, and his son *Sumsam ad Dowlah*, both Noblemen in the Court of the Nizam, at Hyderabad. Published A. D. 1779.

## 14. *Ryāz Assulateen.*

A History of Bengal, from the earliest period (of authentic) Antiquity, till the Conquest of that Country by the English. Written in 1787-8.—Author, *Ghoolam*

*Hussein Seleemy.* He was Moonshy to Mr. George Udny, and resided many years at Mauldah, in the vicinity of the Ruins of Gour, and took considerable pains to ascertain the dates of the Inscriptions on the different buildings. He has, besides, considerable merit in giving the substance of all the Books, which treated on the history of Bengal, that he had access to; but these appear to have been very limited in number, and of course much has been omitted: it is also very deficient in dates. I am, however, indebted to it for the idea of writing of this Work, and for the general outline.

N. B. A more particular description of these Books, excepting Nos. 1. and 14, may be found in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultān's Library.*

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## TRANSLATIONS.

1. *Faria de Souza's History of the Portuguese Conquests in Asia.* By *Captain John Stephens,* 1694.
2. *The Seir Mutākhereen,* or, *View of Modern Times:*

   Being a general History of India, from the year A. D. 1706 to 1780; containing the Reigns of the last Seven Emperors of Hindoostan, and an Account of the English Wars in Bengal, by *Syed Ghoolam Hussein Khan,* a relation of the Nuwab Aly Verdy Khan; finished in 1783.

   It was translated by a Renegado Frenchman, named Mustapha, in 1786, and bears such strong evidence of being a literal translation, that I did not think it requisite to search for the Original, which is probably in the East-India Company's Library. It also perfectly coincides with Mr. Jonathan Scott's translation of part of the Original.
3. *History of Hindoostan, by Dow,* 1770.
4. *The Ayeen Akbery of Abul Fazil, by Gladwin,* 1780.
5. *Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal, by Ditto,* 1788.
6. *History of the Successors of Aurungzebe, and History of Bengal, by Scott,* 1794.

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The English Books, from which I have received assistance, are mentioned in the course of the Work.

# LIST OF THE GOVERNORS OF BENGAL,

WITH

THE CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS OF HINDOOSTAN AND OF ENGLAND.

## SECT. I. *Of the Early Conquerors of India.*

| A. D. | A. H. | Governors of Bengal. | Emperors of Hindoostan. | Kings of England. | Page. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1001 | 391 | - - - - - - - - - - - - | Sultan Mahmood Ghazy. | Ethelred. | 7 |
| 1030 | 421 | - - - - - - - - - - - - | Musaood I. | Canute. | 16 |
| 1041 | 433 | - - - - - - - - - - - - | Modood. | Hardicanute. | 18 |
| 1358 | 450 | - - - - - - - - - - - - | Ibrahim. | Edward the Confessor. | 20 |
| 1098 | 492 | - - - - - - - - - - - - | Musaood III. | William II. | 21 |
| 1115 | 509 | - - - - - - - - - - - - | Arsilla. | Henry I. | *ib.* |
| 1117 | 511 | - - - - - - - - - - - - | Bahram Shah. | ——— | 22 |
| 1157 | 552 | - - - - - - - - - - - - | Khusero I. | Henry II. | 24 |
| 1163 | 559 | - - - - - - - - - - - - | Khusero II. | ——— | 25 |

## SECT. II. *The Ghorian Dynasty.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1189 | 587 | - - - - - - - - - - - - | Mohammed Ghory. | Richard I. | *ib.* |

## SECT. III. *Early Conquerors of Bengal.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1204 | 600 | Bukhtyar Khulijy. | Cuttub. | John. | 38 |
| 1206 | 602 | Mohammed Sheran. | ——— | ——— | 50 |
| 1208 | 605 | Aly Murdan. | ——— | ——— | 53 |
| 1212 | 609 | Ghyas Addeen. | Altumsh. | ——— | 55 |
| 1227 | 624 | Nasir Addeen. | ——— | Henry III. | 59 |
| 1230 | 627 | Ala Addeen. | ——— | ——— | 60 |
| 1237 | 634 | Toghan Khan. | Sultana Rizia. | ——— | *ib* |
| 1244 | 642 | Timour Khan. | Byram II. | ——— | 63 |
| 1246 | 644 | Sief Addeen. | Nasir Addeen Mahmood. | ——— | 64 |
| 1253 | 651 | Mulk Yuzbek. | ——— | ——— | *ib.* |
| 1257 | 656 | Jelal Addeen. | ——— | ——— | 67 |
| 1258 | 657 | Irsilan Khan. | ——— | ——— | 68 |
| 1260 | 659 | Tatar Khan. | ——— | ——— | 69 |
| 1277 | 676 | Toghril. | Balin. | Edward I. | 70 |
| 1282 | 681 | Nasir Addeen. | ——— | ——— | 75 |
| 1325 | 725 | Kudder Khan. | Mohammed III. | Edward II. | 80 |

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1340 | 741 | Fakher Addeen. | Mohammed III. | Edward III. | 82 |
| 1343 | 743 | Ilyas Khaje. | ——— | ——— | 83 |
| 1358 | 760 | Sekunder Shah. | Feroze III. | ——— | 86 |
| 1367 | 769 | Ghyas Addeen II. | ——— | ——— | 89 |
| 1373 | 775 | Sultan Assulateen. | ——— | ——— | 93 |
| 1383 | 785 | Shums Addeen. | ——— | Richard II. | *ib.* |
| 1385 | 787 | Raja Kanis. | ——— | ——— | *ib.* |

# LIST OF THE GOVERNORS OF BENGAL, &c.

| A. D. | A. H. | Governors of Bengal. | Emperors of Hindoostan. | Kings of England. | Page. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1392 | 794 | Jellal Addeen. | Mohammed IV. | Richard II. | 94 |
| 1409 | 812 | Ahmed Shah. | Mahmood III. | Henry IV. | 96 |
| 1426 | 830 | Nasir Shah. | Mubarick II. | Henry VI. | 99 |
| 1457 | 862 | Barbek Shah. | Beloli Lody. | ——— | 100 |
| 1474 | 879 | Yusuf Shah. | ——— | Edward IV. | 101 |
| 1482 | 887 | Futteh Shah. | ——— | ——— | 102 |
| 1491 | 896 | Sultan Shahzadeh. | Sekunder. | Henry VII. | 103 |
| 1492 | 897 | Ferose Shah. | ——— | ——— | 106 |
| 1494 | 899 | Mahmood Shah. | ——— | ——— | 107 |
| 1495 | 900 | Muzuffir Shah. | ——— | ——— | 108 |
| 1499 | 905 | Hussein Shah. | ——— | ——— | 109 |
| 1520 | 927 | Nusserit Shah. | Ibrahim. | Henry VIII. | 114 |
| 1533 | 940 | Mahmood Shah. | Homayon. | ——— | 118 |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1539 | 946 | Khizer Khan. | Shere Shah. | Henry VIII. | 143 |
| 1545 | 952 | Mohammed Soor. | Selim Shah. | ——— | 145 |
| 1555 | 962 | Behadur Shah. | Mohammed Adil. | Mary. | 146 |
| 1560 | 968 | Jellal Addeen. | ——— | Elizabeth. | 147 |
| 1564 | 971 | Soliman Kerany. | ——— | ——— | *ib.* |
| 1573 | 981 | Daood Khan. | Akbar. | ——— | 151 |

## SECT. VI. *Governors under the Moghul Dynasty.*

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| 1576 | 984 | Khan Jehan. | Akbar. | Elizabeth. | 166 |
| 1579 | 987 | Muzuffir Khan. | ——— | ——— | 167 |
| 1580 | 988 | Raja Todermul. | ——— | ——— | 171 |
| 1582 | 990 | Khan Aazim. | ——— | ——— | 176 |
| 1584 | 992 | Shahbaz Khan. | ——— | ——— | 178 |
| 1589 | 997 | Raja Man Sing. | ——— | ——— | 180 |
| 1606 | 1015 | Cuttub Addeen Kokultash. | Jehangire. | James I. | 192 |
| 1607 | 1016 | Jehangire Cooly. | ——— | ——— | 205 |
| 1608 | 1017 | Shaikh Islam Khan. | ——— | ——— | 206 |
| 1613 | 1022 | Cossim Khan. | ——— | ——— | 217 |
| 1618 | 1028 | Ibrahim Khan. | ——— | ——— | 221 |
| 1622 | 1032 | Shah Jehan. | ——— | ——— | 230 |
| 1625 | 1033 | Khanezad Khan. | ——— | Charles I. | 236 |
| 1626 | 1035 | Mukurrem Khan. | ——— | ——— | 237 |
| 1627 | 1036 | Fedai Khan. | ——— | ——— | 238 |
| 1628 | 1037 | Cossim Khan Jobuny. | Shah Jehan. | ——— | 239 |
| 1632 | 1042 | Aazim Khan. | ——— | ——— | 244 |
| 1637 | 1047 | Islam Khan Mushedy. | ——— | ——— | 245 |
| 1639 | 1049 | Sultan Shujaa. | ——— | ——— | 248 |
| 1660 | 1070 | Meer Joomla. | Aurungzebe. | Charles II. | 282 |
| 1664 | 1074 | Shaista Khan. | ——— | ——— | 296 |
| 1677 | 1087 | Fedai Khan. | ——— | ——— | 302 |
| 1678 | 1088 | Sultan Mohammed Aazim. | ——— | ——— | 303 |
| 1680 | 1090 | Shaista Khan. | ——— | ——— | 306 |
| 1689 | 1099 | Ibrahim Khan II. | ——— | William III. | 323 |
| 1697 | 1108 | Azeem Ooshan. | ——— | Anne. | 337 |
| 1704 | 1116 | Moorshud Cooly. | ——— | George II. | 368 |
| 1725 | 1139 | Shujaa Addeen Khan. | Mohammed Shah. | ——— | 416 |
| 1739 | 1151 | Serferaz Khan. | ——— | ——— | 433 |
| 1740 | 1153 | Aly Verdy Khan. | ——— | ——— | 443 |
| 1756 | 1170 | Seraje ad Dowlah. | Aalumgeer II. | ——— | 495 |

## CORRIGENDA.

Page 24, line 2, for *Sinjir, king*, read *Sinjir, lieutenant of the King*.

—— *ib.* 3d date in margin, for 1159 read 1157.

—— 63. The sentence begins at top of the page, "From," &c. and a comma only at "meridian," l. 2.

—— 113, Running Title, for SULTAN ALA ADDEEN, read ALA ADDEEN HUSSEIN SHAH.

—— 155, line 10, for second *Khan* read *Khanan*.

—— 302, line 6. Add Note—"Mr. Orme says the Dutch settled in Bengal about the year 1625."

—— 309, margin, for 1677-8 read 1679-80.

—— 371. Cancel 9th and 10th lines; and add, "Asud Allah, an Afghan Chief, who, with his followers, undertook to defend this territory against the wild mountaineers of Jarcund."

—— 402, line 5, for *ductucks* read *dustucks*.

—— 417, — 16, for *intricate* read *intimate*.

# HISTORY OF BENGAL.

## SECT. I.

### *Of the early Mohammedan Conquerors of India.*

#### INTRODUCTION.

SECT. I.

PREVIOUS to entering on the History of Bengal, it becomes requisite to revert to the first invasion of the north-west provinces of India by the Mohammedans, and to proceed gradually with a narrative of their conquests, until the period from which this History will properly commence: but, as this subject has been before amply detailed in the Translation of Ferishtah's History of Hindoostan by Colonel Dow, it is intended merely to give a summary of those events; referring the reader for more particular information on that subject to the above-mentioned valuable work*.

* Having had frequent occasion, during the compilation of this work, to compare Colonel Dow's Translation with the original of the History of Hindoostan, I conceive it due to the memory of that gentleman, to observe, that few persons could have given a more literal or able translation of his author; and that the suppositions of Mr. Gibbon, and the remarks of a celebrated Orientalist lately given to the public, relative to that History, are equally ill founded. It must be acknowledged, that Colonel Dow has, in some instances, mistaken the author; but such errors may rather be ascribed to the incorrectness of his manuscripts, than to a want of knowledge of the Persian language. It will be recollected, that the 3d volume is not a translation, but a compilation from different authors.

SECT. I.

Death of Haroun al Rashid, A. D. 809.

After the death of the celebrated Haroun al Rashid, A.H. 170, the temporal power of the Khalifs began gradually to decline: most of the governments of provinces, by the discord or weakness of the Imperial family, became hereditary, and their possessors assumed independence: they, however, retained a nominal respect for the successors of Mohammed; and, constrained by public opinion, inserted the Khalif's name in all their official writings, and acknowledged him as their lord-paramount, temporal and spiritual.

Samanian Dynasty.

A. D. 870.

The most powerful of those princes that became independent under the Khalifat, was Ishmael Samany, governor of Maverulniher (Transoxania) and Khorassan; who, in the 263d year of the Hejira, assumed the royal titles. He was the first of the dynasty of the Samanians, who reigned, in the city of Bokhara*, over the provinces of Maverulniher, Khorassan, and the northern part of Persia, with great reputation for justice and humanity.

The family of Samania enjoyed their extensive empire nearly ninety years in much tranquillity and renown, and were celebrated for their justice and the mildness of their government.

Abdul Malik Noo succeeded by his son, Abul Munsur, A. D. 961.

Abdul Malik Noo, the seventh of that race, dying at Bokhara in the 350th year of the Hejira, left a son, then a youth, called Abul Munsur. On this occasion the nobles and principal officers were divided in their opinion about the succession, some favouring the brother of the late monarch, and others declaring for his son. To end the dispute, it was agreed to refer the matter to Abistagy, governor of Khorassan,

* The capital of a province of the same name, in Usbec Tartary. Lat. 39° 15′ N. long. 61° 15′ E.

SECT. I.

a person distinguished by his integrity and great abilities. Abistagy gave it as his opinion, that Munsur, from his youth, being incapable of governing so extensive an empire with discretion, it would be advisable to elect his uncle to the throne: but before Abistagy's messengers reached Bokhara, the contending parties had settled their dispute, by unanimously electing Munsur to be their king; and the young monarch, offended at Abistagy's opinion, commanded him to relinquish his government, and proceed to Bokhara.

Abistagy revolts from Abul Munsur.

Abistagy, unwilling to trust himself in the power of an irritated prince, who was surrounded by his rivals, sent an excuse to the king, and immediately raised the standard of rebellion: but, finding himself unequal to contend with his adversaries, he quitted Khorassan, with a select corps of 3000 cavalry devoted to his service; and, proceeding to the south-east, he took possession of Ghizne†, declaring himself independent of the Samanian authority.

When the king was informed of the departure of Abistagy from Khorassan, he appointed Abul Hussen to that government, with orders to drive Abistagy from his usurped dominion; but that chief, having reconciled the Afghans of Ghizne to his usurpation, was enabled, by their assistance, to defeat the royal general in two pitched battles; and thus became absolute sovereign of the kingdom of Zabulistan, over which he reigned nearly fifteen years, and died A. H. 365. A. D. 975.

Abistagy was succeeded by his son, Abu Isaac, who died without heirs, after a short reign of one year. On this event,

† Ghizne is situated in latitude 33° 25′ north, and east longitude from the Canaries 104° 20′. It is the capital of Zabulistan, and was, at that period, in possession of a tribe of Afghans named Anook.

SECT. I. Subuctageen, the generalissimo of Abistagy, with the concurrence of the chiefs of the army and the principal inhabitants of Ghizne, mounted the throne, and took to wife the daughter of his patron Abistagy.

## SUBUCTAGEEN.

*Origin of Subuctageen—Mounts the throne of Ghizne—Invades Hindoostan—Defeats the Raja of Lumghān—Takes possession of Paishawur—Returns to Ghizne—Visits the city of Balkh—Dies.*

Subuctageen ascends the throne of Ghizne, A. D. 976.

SUBUCTAGEEN, who was originally a Turkish slave, mounted the throne of Ghizne on the 7th of Shaban, in the 368th year of the Hejira, corresponding with the year 976 of the Christian æra; and, upon this occasion, assumed the title of *Nasir Addeen*.

And invades Hindoostan, A. D. 977.

As soon as Subuctageen found himself firmly established in his government, he resolved to employ his army in making war on the idolaters of India. He, in consequence, invaded the frontier provinces of that country, in the year 367; and, having acquired much plunder, and brought away a number of the inhabitants as slaves, he returned in triumph to his capital.

The Hindoo prince, whose country had been thus invaded, was named Jypaal, the son of Hypaal, of the tribe of Brahmens. His capital was called Bathendeh; and his dominions extended, in a north-west direction, from Lahore to Lumghān*; and, in a south-east line, from Cashmire to Moultan. In order

* The district of Lumghān probably extended as far as the Hindoo Koh†: but this circumstance contradicts the current opinion, that the Hindoos were prohibited crossing the Indus; as we here find that a Hindoo prince possessed countries three degrees west of that river, and that many of his subjects were Afghans.

† See Rennell's Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan.

to revenge this insult, Jypaal assembled a numerous army, and advanced towards Ghizne. He was met on the frontier by Subuctageen, and some skirmishing took place between the two armies; but, in consequence of a violent storm, attended by a heavy fall of snow, the Hindoos, who could not endure the cold, sued for peace; the Raja agreeing to pay a fine of a million of *dirhems*‡, and to present Subuctageen with fifty elephants. Part of the money was paid immediately; the remainder was promised to be liquidated in a short time; and hostages were given for the fulfilment of the treaty. When the Raja returned to his capital, being excited either by avarice, or ashamed of his pusillanimous conduct, he refused to comply with the stipulated terms; and ordered that the persons whom Subuctageen had sent to receive the tribute should be detained until his hostages were released. He at the same time sent embassies to the different Rajas of Hindoostan, imploring them to unite with him in defence of their country and of their religion.

When this intelligence was brought to Subuctageen, he re-assembled his troops, and marched towards Lumghān. The contending armies met on the frontier; and, although the Hindoo forces amounted to 200,000 men, supported by a number of elephants, the Mohammedans gained an easy conquest: they drove their adversaries across the Sinde, or Nilab, and took complete possession of the countries of Lumghān and Paishawur. One of the Omrahs, having under his command 10,000 horse, was appointed Governor of Paishawur: and the Afghans, and especially the tribe of Khiligi,

‡ *Dirhem*, a small silver coin, which has varied much in value. It may, however, be averaged at *sixpence* English.

SECT. I. who inhabited the mountains, having promised allegiance, numbers of them were enrolled in the service. After having settled the country to his satisfaction, Subuctageen returned in triumph to his capital.

During the remainder of his reign, Subuctageen was so much engaged by his wars in Tartary, that he did not again
A. D. 997. interfere with Hindoostan. He died in the year 387, and was buried at Ghizne.

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## SULTAN MAHMOOD GHAZY

*Invades Hindoostan—Engages and defeats Raja Jypaal—Takes Bathendeh—Invades Moultan—Conquers the Raja of Bhattea, and Daoud Khan, an Afghan Chief—Invades Nagorhote—Opposed in his progress by Raja Annundpaal—Takes the fort of Bhimnagur—Returns to Ghizne—Obtains the title of Sultan—Marches to Thannasar—Takes that fortress, and destroys the celebrated image—Takes the fortress of Nadoune—Invades Cashmire—Repulsed—Again invades Hindoostan—Subdues the Raja of Cannouge—Takes the cities of Merat, Mabin, and Muttra—Returns to Ghizne—Invades Hindoostan a sixth time—Advances to the bank of the river Jumna—Defeats the Hindoo forces—Returns to his own dominions—Invades Cashmire—Again repulsed—Attacks and subdues the Punjab——Advances into Bundelcund, and lays siege to Callinger—Returns home—Invades Guzerat, and takes the celebrated Temple of Diu—His army suffer much distress on their return to Ghizne—Expedition against the Jats—Returns to Ghizne—Dies.*

Subuctageen succeeded by his son, Mahmood Ghazy.

SULTAN MAHMOOD, the eldest son of Subuctageen, having made a vow, that, if he ever succeeded to the throne, he would wage continual war against the idolaters of India, towards the end of

the year 391 of the Hejira, marched with 10,000 chosen horse from Ghizne; and, on the 8th of Mohurrem of the following year, engaged Raja Jypaal, with 12,000 horse, 30,000 infantry, and 300 war elephants, at Paishawur. TheMohammedans were again victorious, having slain 5000 of the Hindoos, and taken the Raja, with fifteen of his principal adherents, prisoners. The Sultan then advanced, and laid siege to Bathendeh, the capital of the captive prince, which place he quickly reduced. After this, he satiated his revenge upon some of the Afghans; who, neglecting their promise to his father, had taken part with the Hindoos.

A.D. 1001, Mahmood invades Hindoostan.

As it was the custom amongst the Hindoos, that whatever Raja was twice defeated, or taken prisoner, should be considered unworthy to reign, Jypaal, having resigned his kingdom to his son Annundpaal, devoted himself as a sacrifice to the prejudices of his countrymen, and burnt himself on a funeral pile.

In the year 395, the Sultan resolved to carry his arms against Raja Bajerao, whose territories were situated in the vicinity of Moultan. The Raja waited the attack in his capital, named Bhattea, which was well fortified, with an exceedingly high wall, and a very broad and deep ditch. For several days the Hindoos defended themselves with great vigour; but the Raja's courage failing him, he left a strong garrison in the place, and retired to the woods on the banks of the Sinde: here he was soon after surrounded by a detachment of the Mohammedan army, and, finding further resistance vain, fell upon his own sword. The city was soon after taken by assault, and an immense quantity of plunder fell into the hands of the captors; loaded with which, they returned in triumph to their own dominions.

A. D. 1004–5.

SECT. I.

The Sùltan having discovered that Daoud Khan, an Afghan heretic, who then possessed the province of Moultan, and whose predecessor had taken the oath of allegiance to Sultan Subuctageen, had, during the siege of Bhattea, sent assistance to Raja Bajerao, resolved to punish the traitor. He therefore, A. D. 1005–6. in the year 396, again advanced towards Hindoostan; and had proceeded as far as Paishawur, when he was opposed by an army of Hindoos, under the command of Annundpaal, the son of the late Raja. A severe conflict ensued, in which the Hindoos were again defeated, and their prince obliged to take refuge in Cashmire. The Sultan then advanced to the city of Moultan; and, after a siege of seven days, compelled Daoud Khan to pay a tribute of 20,000 *dirhems*, and to embrace the true faith*.

A. D. 1008–9, Mahmood invades Hindoostan a second time.

In the year 399, the Sultan again advanced towards Hindoostan; and Raja Annundpaal, having been reinforced by several other Hindoo princes, again opposed him in the plains of Paishawur. The contest had lasted for several days, when the elephant, on which Annundpaal rode, having taken fright, ran off to the rear. This circumstance induced the whole of the Hindoo army to take to flight. They were pursued by their adversaries for two days and two nights, and 20,000 of them fell by the sword. After this victory, the Sultan, whose mind was governed by bigotry and fanaticism, resolved to proceed to the sacred territory of Nagorkote, and to destroy all the temples of the idolaters in that district.

There was, at that time, in the vicinity of Nagorkote, a

* The Afghans were Mohammedans, but of a different sect from the Sultan.

celebrated fort, called Bhimē, or Bheemnagur, in which the Hindoos had collected all the wealth consecrated to the idols of that and the neighbouring territories, for many centuries. Mahmood invested this place in the year 400, with such expedition, that the procrastinating Hindoos had not time to reinforce the garrison, which at that time was very weak, and therefore speedily compelled them to capitulate, stipulating only for their lives and liberty: thus the whole of the immense wealth contained in the fortress fell into the hands of the Sultan; with which he immediately returned to Ghizne, and displayed to his astonished subjects such riches as were never before possessed by any monarch. It was on this occasion that he obtained from the Khalif Kader Billah the title of Sultan. SECT. I. A.D. 1009-10.

In the year 401, the Sultan again invaded Moultan; and, having taken the city by assault, slew or mutilated a great number of the heretical Afghans, and led away their chief, Daoud Khan, with many of his followers, captives. A.D. 1010-11.

In the course of this year the Sultan was informed, that in the town of Thannasar, not far from Dehly, there was an image, named Jug Soom, which was held in the highest veneration by the Hindoos; and that crowds of people assembled there annually, from every part of India, to worship the idol. This intelligence having rekindled the zeal of the Sultan, he resolved to destroy this object of profane adoration, and in the year 402 marched from Ghizne; but as his route lay through the country of Raja Annundpaal, with whom he had concluded a treaty of peace, he sent an ambassador to that prince, to demand a free passage through his territory, assuring him that his troops should not commit the smallest injury on any of his subjects. The Raja endeavoured to persuade the A.D. 1011-12.

SECT. I. Sultan to relinquish his undertaking, offering to pay him annually the amount of the revenues of Thannasar, and to send him immediately fifty elephants, and various other presents. His entreaties had no effect on the bigoted follower of Mohammed, who proceeded with such expedition, that he arrived at Thannasar before the Raja of Dehly could receive the assistance which he had solicited from the neighbouring princes. All the inferior images were, by the Sultan's orders, broken to pieces; but the venerated Jug Soom, after having the head destroyed, was sent to Ghizne, to form one of the steps of the public mosque, that the pious Mohammedans might have the pleasure of trampling on this object of idolatrous superstition. Religious zeal was not the only passion which the Mohammedans gratified by this expedition; their avarice was also satiated by the rich plunder of the temples.

After this transaction, the Sultan wished to advance to the conquest of Dehly; but his nobles having represented the danger of proceeding further, until he had completely subdued the countries of the Punjab and Moultan, he relinquished his intention, and returned to his own dominions, carrying with him 40,000 Hindoos, of both sexes, as slaves.

A.D. 1013-14. In the year 404, Sultan Mahmood again invaded the dominions of Pitteraou Jypaal, the son of Annundpaal, and took the fort of Nadoune (probably Nadone of our maps). The young prince, finding himself unable to contend with the invaders, fled to Cashmire, whither he was pursued by the Sultan; who, after having plundered that province, and forcibly converted a number of the inhabitants to his own religion, returned to Ghizne.

A.D. 1015-16. The year 406 was rendered remarkable by the Sultan's

unsuccessful attack on Cashmire. He for many months laid siege to the strong fortress of Koh Kote; and was detained so long by this operation, that the winter set in with much violence, and a number of his troops perished in the retreat. This was the first failure this enterprising monarch had ever experienced. SECT. I.

In the spring of the year 409, Sultan Mahmood, having resolved upon an expedition against Cannouge, marched from Ghizne with an army, said to have consisted of 130,000 cavalry. He took the route of Cashmire; and, after a toilsome and arduous march of three months, issued from the mountains which form the northern boundary of the country lying between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, called by the natives the Dooab. His approach was quite unexpected by Korra, the Raja of Cannouge, whose capital was, at that time, equal in magnificence to any of the cities in India; and who, seeing no other remedy than submission, proceeded to the camp of the Sultan, and submitted himself and his country to the mercy of the conqueror. A.D. 1018-19.

The Sultan remained some days in Cannouge, while his detachments took the forts of Merat and Mabin; the one situated on the Cally Nuddy, the other on the banks of the Jumna.

From Cannouge the Sultan proceeded to Muttra, to this day a celebrated place of Hindoo worship. From the Brahmens he met with no opposition, but the plunder he obtained was immense: the images are said to have been all composed of gold or silver, and ornamented with precious stones. The Sultan continued in this country for some months, plundering the inhabitants, and destroying the towns; after which he

SECT. I. returned to his own dominions, loaded with spoil, and encumbered with captives.

A.D. 1021-22. In the year 412, intelligence was brought to Ghizne, that the princes of India, disgusted with the Raja of Cannouge, for his unmanly submission to the Sultan, had invaded his territory, and put him to death. Mahmood, in consequence of this intelligence, collected a more powerful army than he had ever before mustered, and marched towards Hindoostan. On this occasion he took his route through the Punjab, by Lahore. The prince of that country, Pitteraou Jypaal, not finding himself able to prevent the passage of his invaders, retreated across the river Jumna: there he was reinforced by Nunda, Raja of Callinger (the capital of Bundelcund), and several other chiefs. The Sultan having arrived on the banks of the Jumna, found the allied Hindoo army drawn up, ready to oppose his crossing the river, which at that time was not fordable. He therefore encamped opposite to them, till he could form a better judgment of his own and of their situation; but, during the night, some of his troops, having swum across the river without orders, threw the Hindoos into such consternation, that they all took to flight.

The Sultan continued to pursue them for several days; but the fugitives, when they had nearly reached the confines of Callinger, again rallied, and drew up in order of battle. Their army is said to have consisted of 36,000 horse, 45,000 infantry, and a great number of war elephants; and so formidable was their appearance, that it caused very serious apprehensions to the Mussulmans; but the Sultan, having reconnoitred their position, resolved to delay the attack only till morning. In this, however, he was disappointed, as, during

the night, the Hindoos abandoned their camp, and retreated in the greatest disorder. The Mohammedans pursued them for several days, and took a number of elephants, and a quantity of their baggage; but the Sultan, reflecting on the distance he was from home, and the state of the countries in his rear, thought it prudent to return towards Ghizne.

In the year 413, Sultan Mahmood again entered Cashmire, and laid siege to the strong fortress of Koh Kote; but having been a second time foiled, he proceeded to the Punjab, and for several months laid waste that country. Having at length, however, rendered himself master of the city of Lahore, he resolved to annex the Punjab to his own dominions, and commanded his troops to desist from further depredation. The Raja Pitterao Jypaal, unable to contend with his adversaries, retired to Ajmire for protection; and the Sultan, after appointing one of his Omrahs to the government of the Punjab, returned to his capital. A.D. 1022-23.

In the year 414, the Sultan, having resolved to subdue Nunda, the Raja of Callinger, marched from Ghizne with a numerous army. He took the route of Lahore; and, when he arrived at Gualier*, gave orders for his troops to invest that fortress; but on the chief's sending him a valuable present and several elephants, he continued his journey, and shortly after entered the province of Bundelcund. A.D. 1023-24.

The Raja, intimidated by the number and prowess of his enemies, retired to the fortress of Callinger †; the commanding situation and strong fortifications of which stopped the

* Twice taken by the English, but again ceded to the Mahrattas.

† Callinger has lately been taken by the English, but not till after having been repulsed in their first attack.

SECT. I. further progress of the Mohammedan arms, and induced the Sultan, upon receiving a large sum of money and three hundred elephants, to return home.

A.D. 1024-25. In the year 415, the Sultan led his army, over sterile deserts, into the province of Guzerat; the capital* of which he took without opposition. He then proceeded to the Island of Diu, in which was situated the Temple of Som Naat, a celebrated idol, which had been the object of Hindoo worship from time immemorial.

The capture of this temple cost the Sultan the lives of many of his troops; but the immense wealth which he found therein amply repaid all his toils, and was equal in value to the whole of the plunder of his former expeditions.

The Sultan directed the venerated image of Som Naat, which was five yards in height, and contained incalculable wealth, to be broken to pieces, and its fragments to be sent to Mecca, Medina, Ghizne, and other Mohammedan cities, as a testimony of his zeal and power.

The troops having suffered much distress, during this journey, in their passage across the desert, the Sultan determined to return home by the way of Moultan; but even in this route his army experienced excessive hardships, both from the opposition of the inhabitants and scarcity of water and provisions, and with much difficulty returned to Ghizne, after an absence of nearly two years.

A.D. 1026. In the year 417, Mahmood resolved to wreak his vengeance on the Jats, a tribe of Hindoos who inhabited the banks of the lower part of the river Sinde. He therefore, early in the year, proceeded to Moultan, where he collected 1500 large

* Nehrwaleh.

boats, each of which he armed with iron spikes, projecting over the bow and sides. Some of these boats were fitted up as fire-ships, and the remainder occupied by archers and spearmen.

The fleet launched from Moultan; and, soon after their arrival in the country of the Jats, were opposed by a fleet said to have consisted of 4000 boats of various sizes; but, as the fleet of the Ghiznéans had the advantage of the current, the boats of the Jats were unable to withstand the shock; many of them were sunk, a number of them were burned, and the rest dispersed. After the victory, the Mohammédans landed; and, having set fire to the villages, brought away a great number of the women and children, with whom the Sultan returned in triumph to his capital.

Two years after this event, Sultan Mahmood died at Ghizné, on the 23d of the second Rubby (3d month), in the 419th year of the Hejira; and was buried in a magnificent tomb erected near the city, which to this day is resorted to by Mohammedan pilgrims from various parts of Asia, who consider him as having been a glorious champion of their religion, and therefore reverence his memory.

3d of April, A.D. 1028.

## MUSAOOD THE FIRST.

*Musaood succeeds to the throne—Character of that Prince—He invades the Persian provinces of Kutch and Makeran—Invades Cashmire, and takes the celebrated fort of Sursutty—Invades Hindoostan, and captures the cities of Hansi and Sunput—Returns to Ghizne—Deposed and murdered by his own subjects.*

SULTAN MAHMOOD was succeeded by his second son, Mo-
A. D. 1030. hammed, in the year 421; but as the events of that short and unstable reign are not connected with the affairs of India, it has not been thought requisite to insert it in this abridged history.

Musaood, at the period of his father's decease, was Governor of Hamadan in Persia; and upon his succeeding to the throne, for some time made Balkh the seat of his empire. He was a man of lofty spirit, and great personal strength; on which account he was honoured with the title of Rustem the Second. His arrow could pierce the strongest coat of mail, and pass through the body of an elephant; and his iron mace was so heavy, that no man of his time could raise it with one hand. He was, withal, of an obstinate and fierce disposition, contemptuous of authority, and disdaining all obedience. This circumstance, in his youth, engaged him in many

quarrels, and greatly disobliged his father; who therefore wished to confer the kingdom on his second son, and, in consequence, detached Musaood to the most distant part of his empire, previous to his last illness. SECT. I.

In the year of the Hejira 422, he quitted Balkh, and repaired to Ghizne, where having settled his authority, he employed his armies in reducing the maritime provinces of Persia, Kutch and Makeran. A.D. 1031.

For two years, the attention of the Sultan was so much engaged by his Persian provinces, that he had little leisure to molest the Hindoos; but in the year 424, he led his army into Cashmire, and invested the fort of Sursutty, which commanded the passes. The garrison, being intimidated, sent messengers to the king, promising valuable presents, and an annual tribute, if he would desist from his enterprise. Musaood was inclined to listen to their proposals, when he received a petition from several Mohammedan merchants, who were captives in the fort, stating, that they had come into that country in the laudable and peaceable pursuit of commerce; that the governor of Sursutty had unjustly seized them, plundered them of all their goods, and kept them in severe confinement: they added, that the provisions in the fort being nearly expended, if his majesty would persevere in the siege a few days longer, it must surrender to his victorious arms. This intelligence at once roused the anger and ambition of the prince. He gave orders for the siege to be prosecuted with redoubled vigour. The ditch was in a few days filled with sugar-canes from the adjacent plantations; scaling ladders were applied to the walls; and the infuriate Musselmans entered the fort, and put the whole garrison to the sword. The king then ordered search A.D. 1033.

SECT. I. to be made for the captive merchants; and having liberated them, bestowed on them the royal portion of the plunder. This act rendered him beloved by the Mohammedans, and dreaded by the Hindoos.

A.D. 1034. In the year 427, the Sultan entered the mountainous region of Sewalic, and invested the supposed impregnable fortress of Hansi, which he took by storm on the sixth day. In this place he found immense treasures, which he despatched to Ghizne. He then proceeded in person to Sunput, a celebrated place of Hindoo worship, situated only forty miles from Dehly: here, although he met with no opposition, he nevertheless consigned the idols and their temples to destruction. After thus evincing his intolerant zeal, he returned to Lahore; and having established his son Mujdood as governor of that province, he proceeded to Ghizne.

This was the last incursion of Sultan Musaood into Hin-

A.D. 1041. doostan; and in the year 433, he was deposed, and afterwards murdered, by his own subjects.

## SULTAN MODOOD

*Proclaimed King, at Balkh—Repairs to Ghizne—The Empire declines—The Raja of Dehly enters into a confederacy with the other Hindoo Princes—Takes the fort of Nagorkote—The Mohammedans nearly driven from Hindoostan—The Sultan dies—His Successors.*

SULTAN MODOOD, at the time of his father's decease, was at Balkh, where he was immediately proclaimed king. He soon afterwards proceeded to Ghizne; but for several years he was

so much occupied by an invasion of the Siljokian Tartars, and by civil wars, that he had no leisure to pursue the conquests of his predecessors in India. SECT. I.

In the year 435, the Raja of Dehly, perceiving the declining state of the Ghiznian empire, resolved to make an effort to deliver his country from the hands of the oppressors. He therefore entered into an alliance with all the Hindoo princes of the Punjab, to attack the common enemy; and, that no means might be omitted to rouse their zeal and animate their spirits, he declared that he had seen in a vision the Deity whose idol had formerly been worshipped in the temple of Nagorkote; and who had informed him, that, having revenged himself on the Ghiznians, by the introduction of civil broils and discord amongst them, if he would advance with his army to Nagorkote, he should there find him returned to his temple, and prepared to assist his worshippers by his divine aid. The Mohammedans nearly driven out of Hindoostan, A.D. 1043.

This story, having been propagated by some Brahmens who were probably in the secret, was eagerly credited by a multitude of zealots: these having joined the army of the Raja, he proceeded at their head towards Nagorkote, having, during his route, recovered from the hands of the Mohammedans the cities of Thannasar, Hansi, and several other places. The fort of Nagorkote, being situated on the top of a mountain, and defended by a determined Mohammedan garrison, was not to be taken by assault: the Raja therefore closely invested it with his troops, and patiently waited the slow but certain effects of famine. At the end of four months, the garrison, finding no hopes of relief, capitulated. Previous to the surrender of the fort, the Raja had taken the precaution of causing an idol to be made of the same size and form of that which

SECT. II. formerly occupied the temple; and having, during the night, conveyed it secretly into the place, it was displayed, soon after their admission into the fort, to the astonished multitude, as the identical image which had been broken to pieces by the Mohammedans. This story revived the fame of the idol throughout Hindoostan, and thousands of its votaries flocked to the victorious standard of the Raja. The princes of the Punjab, encouraged by these events, attacked the Mohammedans with bravery; and in a short time recovered possession of all the places to the east of the Indus, excepting the city of Lahore.

A.D. 1049. Modood died in the year 441. His successors were, Musaoud the Second, Aly, Rashid, and Ferrokhzad, whose short reigns afford nothing interesting with regard to India.

## SULTAN IBRAHIM.

SULTAN IBRAHIM succeeded his brother Ferrokhzad, in the year
A.D. 1058. 450. He was a prince remarkable for his strict morality, and observance of religious duties. For twenty-two years his attention was much occupied by apprehensions from his western
A.D. 1079-80. neighbours; but in the year 472 he sent a powerful army to invade Hindoostan. He took and plundered the ancient city of Adjodin, situated on the skirts of the Great Desert: he also captured the celebrated fort of Rupal, and carried away 100,000 of the inhabitants of that vicinity into slavery.

In its consequences, the most important event of this reign was the appointment of a person named Sham Soury to the government of Ghor, as will hereafter be explained. Ibrahim enjoyed a long and prosperous reign, and quitted
A.D. 1098. this mortal life in the year 492.

## MUSAOUD THE THIRD.

MUSAOUD III. the son of Sultan Ibrahim, mounted the throne on the demise of his father. He revised the ancient laws and regulations of the state, and, abrogating such as were deemed unreasonable, substituted others in their place, founded upon better principles. He took Mehidi Irac, the daughter of Sinjir king of the Siljoky, in marriage; which connection cemented the peace between those princes.

During the reign of Musaoud, his General, named Toghan Sien, led an expedition into Hindoostan; and, having crossed the Ganges, carried the Mohammedan conquests farther than those of the celebrated Mahmood Ghazy.

The remainder of the reign of Musaoud was passed in peace; and he died at Ghizne in the year 509, after a reign of seventeen years. A.D. 1115.

## ARSILLA.

WHEN Arsilla, the son of Musaoud, succeeded his father, the first act of his authority was, to seize, and strictly confine, all his brothers. This action gave universal disgust; and his uncle Bahram, fearing for his safety, fled to Sultan Sinjir, who, on the part of his brother Mohammed, king of Persia, then governed the province of Khorassan. Sinjir immediately espoused the cause of Bahram, and commenced preparations for the invasion of Ghizne.

Arsilla, being informed of this circumstance, sent his mother, who was the sister of Sinjir, with a present of 200,000 dinars, to negociate a peace for him; but that lady, disgusted with the tyranny of her son, and his cruelty to her other children, strongly urged her brother to hostility.

SECT. I.

Sinjir, in consequence, marched from Bost, the capital of Khorassan, with a powerful army, and advanced without opposition to the vicinity of Ghizne; where he beheld the army of Arsilla, consisting of 30,000 horse, an innumerable body of infantry, and 160 war elephants, drawn out in order of battle, to receive him. The contest lasted great part of the day: at length, by the uncommon bravery of Abul Fazil, governor of Seistan, the troops of Ghizne were put to flight; and Arsilla, unable to renew the engagement, fled towards Hindoostan.

Sinjir entered Ghizne in triumph, where he remained forty days; and having placed Bahram on the throne of Ghizne, returned to his own government.

A.D. 1117. In the year 511, Arsilla made an attempt to recover his dominions, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death.

## BAHRAM SHAH.

BAHRAM SHAH was possessed of great courage and dignity: he was also a great encourager of learning, and spent much of his time with the Literati, each of whom he rewarded according to merit. During his reign, a great number of books were written and dedicated to him, the most celebrated of which is the *Mukhzen al Asrar* (Treasury of Secrets), by the famous Shaikh Nizamy.

A.D. 1118. In the year 512 the Sultan marched to Lahore, which had been seized by Mohammed Bahlim, the general of the late monarch. An engagement took place in the vicinity of that city, in which Bahlim was defeated and made prisoner; but being a person of great plausibility, he not only persuaded the Sultan to release him, but to take him into his service, and to re-appoint him to the government of Lahore. In return for

this clemency, Bahlim embraced the first opportunity of re- SECT. II.
belling against his master. A second engagement ensued, in which the rebel was defeated, and, in his flight, fell into a quagmire with ten of his sons, and was never more heard of. The Sultan soon after seized the family, and all the wealth of the rebel, which he had deposited in Nagore, a celebrated fort in the mountains of Sewalic.

Some years after this event, a young man, named Mohammed Hussein, a prince of the royal family of Ghor, who was married to one of the daughters of the rebel, having excited the jealousy of the Sultan, was put to death; and this act proved, in its consequences, the ruin of the family of Ghizne. Sief Addeen Soury, the brother of the deceased, raised a great army to revenge his death. He marched directly to Ghizne, which Bahram evacuated, and, unable to oppose him, fled towards Hindoostan.

Sief Addeen, having taken possession of Ghizne, resolved to make that city the place of his residence; and being under no apprehension from Bahram, he permitted the greater part of his army to return, under the command of his brother, Alla Addeen, to Ghor. But the people of Ghizne, dissatisfied with the conduct of their new ruler, took advantage of a severe winter, during which the communication between Ghizne and Ghor was completely cut off, to invite Bahram to return; and, upon his approaching the city, they seized and delivered the Prince of Ghor into his hands.

The conduct of Bahram, on this occasion, was cruel, impolitic, and unmanly. The unfortunate captive was inhumanly ordered to have his face blackened, to be placed backwards on a bullock, and led in procession through the town, exposed to

SECT. I. the insults and abuse of the mob. He was afterwards put to death, and his head sent to Sinjir king of Persia.

When intelligence of this event reached Ghor, the prince Alla Addeen burnt with rage: he advanced with a numerous army to Ghizne; and, having thrice defeated Bahram, invested that city, and delivered it to be plundered by his troops, and its inhabitants to be massacred, for seven days: he then set fire to it in many places, and carried his ravages so far as to destroy every monument of the Ghiznian kings, excepting the tombs of Mahmood, Musaood, and Ibrahim.

After his defeat, Bahram fled, with the scattered remains of his army, towards Lahore; but he was overwhelmed with his
A. D. 1152. misfortunes, and sunk under the hand of death in the year 547, after a reign of thirty-five years. He was, upon the whole, an amiable and virtuous prince; and had it not been for his impolitic and cruel conduct to the Prince of Ghor, he might have died with the character of a good man.

The author of the Tabkat Nassery states, that he reigned forty years, and that his death occurred at Ghizne in the
A.D. 1157. year 552 of the Hejira.

## KHUSERO THE FIRST.

THE son of Bahram succeeded his father (according to the
A.D. 1159. Tabkat Nassery) in the year 552, and, abandoning the western provinces to the power of his enemies, made Lahore the capital
A.D. 1163. of his dominions. He died in that city in the year 559, after having reigned, with no great splendour, for seven years. He however deserved, and attained, the character of a good and peaceable prince.

### KHUSERO THE SECOND

ASCENDED the throne on the death of his father, and reigned thirteen years at Lahore, with the reputation of a benevolent and just prince. In the year 582, he was taken prisoner by the celebrated Mohammed Ghory, who sent him to Firoz Koh, where, in the year 587, he was assassinated; which event put an end to the Ghiznean dynasty, and transferred the sceptre of India to the House of Ghor. Khusero II. A.D. 1184. A.D. 1189.

## SECT. II.

## THE GHORIAN DYNASTY.

### SULTAN MOHAMMED GHORY.

*Origin of the Kings of Ghor—Sham appointed Governor of Ghor—succeeded by his sons, Mohammed Hussein, Sief Addeen Soury, and Alla Addeen—The succession devolves upon Ghyas Addeen, who appoints his brother Mohammed governor of Ghizne, and Generalissimo of his forces—Mohammed invades and subdues Moultan—Invades Paishawur—Advances to Lahore, and besieges Sultan Khusero in that city—Returns to Ghizne—Again invades Hindoostan—Defeated by the Hindoo Rajas of Ajmire and Dehly—Compelled to return to Ghizne—Being reinforced, returns, and gains a complete victory over the Hindoos—Proceeds towards Dehly—Appoints Cuttub Addeen governor of the conquered province, and returns to Ghizne—Again invades Hindoostan—Advances as far as Benaras, and destroys the temples and idols of that city—Returns home—Again enters Hindoostan, and takes the fort of Biana—Sultan Ghyas Addeen dies, and is succeeded by Mohammed, who is three years after assassinated by the tribe of Gickers.*

THE genealogy of the kings of Ghor, according to the most authentic historians, might be traced through thirty-two Origin of the Kings of Ghor.

SECT. II. generations, to the Khalifat of Aly the son-in-law of the Prophet, who converted one of their progenitors to the Mohammedan faith.

Sham Soury. It is sufficient for the present history to state, that one of the descendants of this illustrious family, named Sham Soury, having condescended to take upon himself the humble employment of a merchant, was, on his return from India, compelled by a gang of robbers to join their party. He was soon after taken prisoner, with his companions, by the troops of the Sultan Ibrahim, and condemned to death. When the executioner was about to perform his office, Sham protested his innocence with so much appearance of sincerity, that the officer, who superintended the punishment, petitioned the Sultan in his behalf. The Sultan ordered the business to be inquired into; and being convinced of the reality of his story, and much pleased with his eloquence and address, released him, and conferred on him the appointment of Master of Requests; in which station he acquitted himself with so much ability, that he rose gradually in rank and honours, and was at length appointed to the government of Ghor, the ancient patrimony of his ancestors. He soon after married a princess of the house of Ghizne, by whom he had seven sons, denominated the Seven Stars, and acquired such power as to become independent of his sovereign.

Sham was succeeded, in rotation, by his sons, Mohammed Hussein, Sief Addeen Soury, and Alla Addeen, who, as we have before related, having taken and burnt the city of Ghizne, was surnamed (Jehan Soze) the Incendiary.

Alla Addeen, after a short and turbulent reign, died in the A.D. 1156. year 551, leaving his government to his son Mohammed; who

also died in the course of the year, and was succeeded by his cousin, Ghyas Addeen. SECT. II.

Ghyas Addeen appoints Mohammed Ghory Generalissimo, A.D. 1171.

Ghyas Addeen, being of an unwarlike disposition, appointed his brother, Mohammed Ghory, to be his General; and in the year 567 promoted him to the government of Ghizne, which, by a reverse of fortune, was now become a dependency upon that state to which it formerly sent governors.

A.D. 1176.

In the year 572, Mohammed, in obedience to his brother's commands, led an army into Moultan, and in a very short time subdued that province. Encouraged by this event, he, in the year 574, advanced through the Sandy Desert into Guzerat; but Raja Bim Deo, having collected a numerous army of Hindoos, compelled the Mohammedans, after suffering many hardships, to retire to their own territories.

A.D. 1178.

A.D. 1179.

The following year, 575, Mohammed, having recruited his army, invaded the district of Paishawur, bordering on Cashmire; and in a short time brought it under subjection.

A.D. 1180.

In 576, he advanced towards Lahore, where he invested Sultan Khusero, the last of the Ghiznean dynasty, whom he compelled to submit to such terms as were unworthy the conqueror and disgraceful to the conquered.

A.D. 1184.

In the year 580, Mohammed again invaded Lahore, and was again compelled to retreat; but, in order to secure the final conquest of that country, he built the strong fortress of Sal Kote, between the Ravy and Chunaub, two of the rivers which inclose part of the province called the Punjab.

A.D. 1186.

In the year 582, Mohammed once more invested the unfortunate Khusero in Lahore; and, by a mean stratagem, having made him his prisoner, put an end to the Ghiznean empire, as has before been related in the history of that dynasty.

SECT. II.

When Mohammed had settled the province of Lahore, he left the government of that place in the hands of Aly, chief of Moultan, and returned to Ghizne.

A. D. 1191.

In the year 587 he marched again towards Hindoostan; and, proceeding to Tiberhind, quickly succeeded in gaining possession of that city, which he garrisoned with a chosen detachment, under the command of Mullik Za, and returned towards Ghizne. When he had proceeded half way, he received information that Pittu Rai, prince of Ajmire, and Candu Rai, king of Dehly, having formed an alliance with several other Rajas, were advancing with an army consisting of 120,000 horse and 3000 elephants, towards his new conquest of Tiberhind.

Mohammed, not at all intimidated by this intelligence, immediately retraced his steps, and met the hostile squadrons on the banks of the Sursutty, fourteen miles from Thannasar, and eighty miles from Dehly.

Upon the first onset, the wings of the Mohammedan army, finding themselves outflanked by their opponents, retired, till, having joined in the rear, they formed a complete circle. The Hindoos, finding their adversaries so much inferior in numbers, advanced with great boldness; and Candu Rai, king of Dehly, having discovered Mohammed, advanced against him upon his war elephant. The Mussulman general, not less anxious to contend with his riyal, spurred on his steed, and, by a blow from his lance, struck out one of his teeth; at the same time the king of Dehly severely wounded his opponent with an arrow. Mohammed was so much stunned by his wound, that with the utmost difficulty he could preserve his seat; which being observed by one of his faithful attendants, he imme-

diately vaulted behind him, and bore him off from the field of battle. The Mussulmans seeing their general in this situation, immediately took to flight, and were pursued by their enemies for forty miles. SECT. II.

Upon the retreat of Mohammed, the allied Rajas continued their march to Tiberhind, which they besieged for sixteen months, and were at length obliged to grant a most honourable capitulation to the garrison.

After this unexpected defeat, Mohammed retired to Ghizne, whence he proceeded to Ghor, the capital of his brother; from whom he received such an addition to his forces, as rendered his army one of the most formidable that had ever entered Hindoostan.

His force is said to have consisted of 120,000 horse in complete armour, and a vast number of irregular cavalry. With these he marched, in martial array, first to Ghizne, and thence towards India. Upon his arrival at Lahore, he despatched a nobleman, named Humza, with an ostentatious declaration of war against the Hindoo princes. These, having been prepared for the event, advanced with an army consisting of 300,000 horse, 3000 elephants, and an immense host of infantry. The two armies encamped in sight of each other, on the former field of battle, being only separated by the river Sursutty.

As it is a political maxim of the Hindoos never to use force when any business can be accomplished by stratagem or deceit, they endeavoured to enter into an accommodation with Mohammed; who, meeting them in their own way, declared his readiness to enter into a truce with them.

This answer produced the intended effect, and lulled the

SECT. II. Hindoos into security. But, during the night, Mohammed forded the river, and attacked his enemies before they were aware of their danger.

Notwithstanding the confusion which naturally occurred on this occasion amongst the Hindoos, their camp was of such an extent, that the greater part of their army had time to form in order of battle, and advanced with considerable regularity, in four lines.

Seeing this formidable array, Mohammed pretended to retreat; by which manœuvre, having induced the Hindoos to break their line, he wheeled round on them with his most select squadrons, and in a short time carried terror and defeat through all their ranks.

Candu Rai, king of Dehly, and many other princes, were slain on the field of battle. Pittu Rai, Raja of Ajmire, was taken prisoner, and afterwards put to death. The spoil of the camp, which was immensely rich, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and the forts of Sursutty, Samana, Khoram, and Hansi, surrendered after the victory.

Mohammed proceeded in person, and took possession of Ajmire, having barbarously put many thousands of the unfortunate inhabitants to the sword, reserving the rest for slavery; but upon the promise of a large tribute from Gola the son of Pittu Rai, he made over the country to him, and released his captives.

He then turned his victorous standards towards Dehly, with the intention of plundering that city; but was prevailed on by the son of the late Raja, at the expense of a great sum of money and valuable presents, to abandon his design.

Mohammed then left his faithful slave and general, Cuttub, in the fort of Khoram, with a considerable army, and marched himself with the main body towards the mountains of Sewalic, which form the northern boundary of that part of Hindoostan, plundering and ravaging all the countries in his way to Ghizne. SECT. II.

After the return of Mohammed, his general Cuttub, who afterwards became highly distinguished in the annals of India, advanced, in the year 589, from Khoram, and took from the son of Candu Rai the imperial city of Dehly. He thence proceeded to Merat, which he captured in a short time; and having subdued the fortress of Kole, (now called Ally Ghur,) between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, took up his residence for some time in that place. A.D. 1192.

In the year 591, Mohammed Ghory again advanced into Hindoostan, but met with no opposition till he had reached Etaya on the banks of the Jumna, where he was encountered by Rai Joy, prince of Cannouge. The Hindoos were however defeated by the vanguard under Cuttub, and much plunder was seized by the conquerors. After this skirmish, the Mohammedans advanced and took the fort of Assy, in which they found immense treasures. Thence they proceeded to Benaras, which they easily captured; and either wantonly or zealously broke down and destroyed all the idols and temples of that celebrated seat of Hindoo learning. Mohammed then returned to Kole, where he again confirmed Cuttub as his Viceroy in India; and hence, laden with treasure, he took the route of Ghizne. A.D. 1194.

Scarcely had Mohammed crossed the Indus, when one of the relations of Pittu Rai, late king of Ajmire, whose name

SECT. II. was Himraje, rebelled against Gola, the son of his prince, and compelled him to take refuge with Cuttub, the Mohammedan general. The latter immediately advanced with a considerable army to Ajmire, where he quickly re-established Gola in his authority.

The same year, Cuttub invaded the province of Guzerat, and, having vanquished Raja Bim Deo, took ample revenge for the defeat the Mohammedan arms had sustained in the year 574. After plundering that rich country, he returned in triumph to Dehly.

A.D. 1202. In the year 599, Mohammed, for the last time, entered into Hindoostan; but after taking the fort of Biana, he was obliged to return in haste towards Ghizne; where, upon his arrival, he received intelligence of the death of his brother, Sultan Ghyas Addeen, in whose name he had hitherto acted. In recompence for this forbearance, so uncommon amongst Mohammedans, he had the pleasure of acquiring the sovereignty of Ghor, and all its dependencies, with a clear conscience.

Mohammed succeeds Ghyas Addeen in the sovereignty of Ghor.

From this period, Mohammed interfered little with the politics of India, leaving the arrangement of that country to his trust-worthy viceroy, Cuttub.

A.D. 1206. Mohammed was assassinated in the year 602, by the tribe of Gickers, after a reign of thirty-two years from the commencement of his government over Ghizne, and three from his accession to the empire, the titles and honours of which, as before mentioned, he permitted his elder brother to enjoy during his life-time. He was esteemed one of the greatest men that ever sat on the throne of India; and though he was in some instances cruel, he possessed many virtues.

## CUTTUB-ADDEEN ABIEK.

*Origin of Cuttub—Purchased by Sultan Mohammed Ghory—Promoted by degrees to the rank of Master of the Horse—Taken prisoner by the King of Khuarizm—Retaken—Appointed Governor of the conquered Provinces—Captures the City of Merat—Takes Dehly—His Expedition against the Jats—Crosses the river Jumna, and takes the fort of Kole—Defeats the Raja of Benaras—Sultan Mohammed adopts Cuttub as his son—Cuttub succeeds to the Throne of Hindoostan—Dies.*

WHEN Mohammed Ghory had departed this life, his nephew Mahmood assumed the imperial titles at Ghor; but sensible of his own want of power, he thought it more prudent to conciliate the friendship of Cuttub, the viceroy of Hindoostan, although originally a slave of his uncle's, than, by asserting his claim to those dominions, to raise up a dangerous rival to his authority. He therefore sent to Cuttub all the ensigns of royalty; viz. a throne, an umbrella, standards, drums, and the title of Sultan. A.D. 1205.

Cuttub received these honours with proper respect; and mounted the throne at Lahore, on the 2d of Zykaad of the year 602. June, A.D. 1206.

As this person makes so conspicuous a figure in the annals of Hindoostan, his history cannot fail of being interesting, although fully detailed in another work.

Cuttub was a native of Toorkestan, and in his childhood purchased by a merchant, who brought him to Nishapore, and sold him to Cazy Fakher Addeen, a learned judge, and a Origin of Cuttub Addeen.

SECT. II. person of very ancient family, who sent him to school with his own sons. The youth evinced uncommon abilities, and in a few years made great progress in his learning, and in acquiring all the polite accomplishments of the age. Upon the death of the judge, his heirs sold Cuttub, for a large sum of money, to a merchant; by whom he was carried to Ghizne, and presented to Sultan Mohammed Ghory, who amply rewarded the merchant for his present.

In a short time, Cuttub became a great favourite of the Sultan, who, in consequence of his having lost a finger, gave him the nick-name of Abiek. One evening, the Sultan, having made considerable presents to his attendants and slaves, gave to Cuttub a larger sum than to any other of the boys; but as soon as the company broke up, Cuttub distributed his present among the inferior servants of the palace, saying, that as the Sultan's favour supplied all his wants, he had no use for money. This conduct being reported to the Sultan, he was much pleased, and promoted Cuttub to stand at the side of his throne; and by degrees raised him to the confidential office of Master of the Horse.

In one of the expeditions of Mohammed Ghory against the king of Khuarizm, Cuttub, being detached with a party of horse to procure forage, was, after exhibiting many proofs of valour, taken prisoner, and carried before the Khuarizm monarch, who ordered him to be secured with iron chains. A day or two after, a general engagement took place between the two armies, in which the Khuarizmians, being defeated, fled, and left their prisoner seated on a camel, fast bound with chains. In this situation he was retaken by some of his friends, and sent to the Sultan, who, on seeing him, was much

affected, and, as a mark of the highest honour and regard, bestowed on him one of his own dresses. SECT. II.

When, in the year 588, Mohammed Ghory had taken his revenge of the princes of Ajmire and Dehly, by the total defeat of their armies on the banks of the river Sursutty, he appointed Cuttub commander-in-chief of his forces in Hindoostan; with orders to prosecute his conquests in that country. Cuttub made Commander-in-chief, A. D. 1192.

As soon as the Sultan returned to Ghizne, Cuttub commenced his operations, by the capture of Merat, a celebrated fortress in the Dooab; after which he proceeded to Dehly, and laid siege to that city. He was there opposed by a powerful army of Rajepoots; but, after a bloody contest, the Hindoos were defeated, and compelled to retire within their walls. Cuttub continued to press the siege, and in a short time compelled the garrison to capitulate; by which he became master of the imperial city, which has ever since been considered as the capital of Hindoostan, although sometimes forsaken by its emperors. He besieges and takes Dehly.

In the month of Ramzan, of the year 589, the tribe of Jats who were subject to the Raja of Neherwala, in Guzerat, laid siege to the fort Hansy; but the governor defending himself with great bravery, gave time for Cuttub to march to his assistance. Upon the arrival of the Mohammedan army, the Jats hastily retreated, and were pursued to the confines of their own country. A.D. 1193.

The following year, Cuttub crossed the river Jumna, and took the celebrated fort of Kole (Alyghur), in which he found 1000 horses and much plunder. In this place he continued to reside for some time.

In the year 591, Cuttub proceeded from Dehly, to meet his A.D. 1194.

SECT. II. master, who was advancing from Ghizne, with an intention of subduing the countries of Cannouge and Benaras. When they met, Cuttub presented the Sultan with a hundred Arabian horses, an elephant made of gold, and another of silver; and caused his army, consisting of 50,000 horse, to pass in review before him.

The Sultan was much pleased with Cuttub's conduct, and, having conferred on him a dress of honour, appointed him to command the first division of the army.

With this division, which consisted of his own troops, he totally defeated Jychund the Raja of Benaras, who fell in the heat of the battle. The number of slain was so great, that for a long time the body of the prince could not be found, but was at length recognised by his artificial teeth, which were fixed with wedges of gold.

After this victory the Sultan proceeded to the city of Benaras, and demolished nearly one thousand Hindoo temples. He then laid waste the country to the boundaries of Bengal; and after securing all the elephants, treasure, and property belonging to the Raja, (great part of which was found in the fort of Assy,) he returned towards Ghizne, leaving Cuttub as Viceroy of Hindoostan.

Sultan Mohammed adopts Cuttub as his son.

After some days march, the Sultan sent Cuttub a letter, declaring him his adopted son; and at the same time, as a proof of his special favour, sent him a white elephant, one of those taken from the prince of Benaras. This animal, of so uncommon a colour in Hindoostan, was rode constantly by Cuttub, and died three days after the decease of his master.

Cuttub succeeds Mohammed Ghory, A. D. 1205.

Upon the death of Mohammed Ghory, in the year 602, Cuttub succeeded to the uncontrolled possession of the Indian provinces; and having established Delhy as the capital

of his dominions, he may be considered as the first Mohammedan king of Hindoostan. SECT. II.

Cuttub died at Lahore, in the year 607. His reign, properly speaking, was little more than four years, though he enjoyed all the state and dignity of the sovereign for more than twenty. A.D. 1210.

As it was during the reign of Cuttub Addeen Abiek that Bengal became subject to the Mohammedan arms, we now turn to the affairs of that province.

# SECT. III.

## *Of the early Mohammedan Conquerors of Bengal.*

### MOHAMMED BUKHTYAR KHULIJY.

*Origin of Bukhtyar Khulijy—His arrival at Dehly—Unsuccessful application to be admitted into the Imperial service—He obtains employment from one of the provincial Governors—Raises a regiment of his own Clan—Noticed by the Viceroy—Appointed to the command of an army destined to invade the province of Behar—Conquers that country—Returns to Dehly—Re-appointed Governor of Behar—History of Luchmunyah, the last Raja of Bengal—Bukhtyar invades Bengal—Selects the ancient City of Gour as the Capital of the two Provinces—Attempts the Conquest of Thibet—Compelled to retreat—Returns to Bengal—Dies.*

SECT. III. Origin of Bukhtyar Khulijy.

THE first Chief who exalted the banners of Mohammed in the fertile plains of Bengal, was Mohammed Bukhtyar Khulijy. This person was an inhabitant of Ghor, a city in the district of Gurmseir, on the northern boundary of Afghanistan, and of the tribe of Khulijy*. Nature had not been favourable to Bukhtyar in his formation; he was ill-favoured,

* Throughout Dow's History of Hindoostan this name is softened into *Cheligi*, which renders it unintelligible to a native of the East.

SECT. III.

and of a mean appearance; and, amongst other deformities of his person, it is stated, that when he stood upright the ends of his fingers extended considerably below his knees. When arrived at the age of manhood, he repaired to Ghizne, and offered himself as a volunteer to the officers of Mohammed Ghory; but they, disgusted with his appearance, refused to enrol him amongst their levies. Disappointed in his hopes, he proceeded to Dehly, and, on his arrival in that city, made a tender of his services to the officers of Cuttub Addeen the Viceroy; but the inspector of recruits again rejected him. Finding it impossible to obtain employment in the imperial service, he enlisted as a cavalier with Oughul Beg, one of the provincial governors: in this situation, his activity, courage, and abilities, soon recommended him to the notice of his superiors, and he quickly obtained promotion.

When Mohammed Bukhtyar had acquired some celebrity in his new situation, he invited several parties of his own tribe, who were in want of employment, to accept him as their commander, and had the good fortune shortly after to be admitted, with his regiment, into the service of the Viceroy. Having signalized himself on many arduous occasions, he was at length (about the year 596) appointed to the command of an army destined to the conquest of Behar. A. D. 1199.

In this undertaking he was again successful; for after ravaging and plundering all the country, and sacking the capital†, he returned, at the end of two years, loaded with

† Mr. Wilford states, in the 9th volume of the Asiatic Researches, that the kings of Behar, or Magadha, were for many ages the sovereigns or lords-paramount of India. If

SECT. III. plunder; the whole of which he laid at the feet of the Viceroy, who was so much pleased with his conduct, that he conferred on him such honours as excited the envy of all his contemporaries.

The mode which the courtiers devised to get rid of an envied favourite, would be incredible in a civilized nation: but, as the circumstance occurred in an assemblage of illiterate soldiers, who considered courage as the chief virtue, we cannot refuse to give credit to the following extraordinary anecdote, which is corroborated by several historians. On a public occasion, when the whole court of the Viceroy were assembled, some of the nobles took an opportunity of introducing the subject of the late conquest of Behar, and of extolling the feats of bravery performed by the General: they added, that such was their high opinion of his courage, they were assured he would, single-handed, contend with and overcome a fierce elephant: this being contradicted by some other person in the secret, the question was at length submitted to the Viceroy, and by him proposed to Mohammed Bukhtyar, who, dreading the imputation of cowardice more than death, foolishly agreed to try the contest.

One of those elephants which are kept for fighting by the princes of the East, and which was then in a state of intoxication, was shortly introduced into the area in front

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such was the case, their descendants must have degenerated exceedingly; for at the period of the Mohammedan invasion, the Raja, instead of heading his army in defence of his country and religion, shamefully absconded, leaving his capital, then a celebrated seat of Hindoo learning (whence its name of *Behar*), so destitute, that it was taken by a detachment of two hundred men, who put a number of the unopposing Brahmans to the sword, and plundered all the inhabitants.

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of the palace; and Mohammed, without making any other preparation than merely throwing off his coat and girding up his loins, advanced with a battle-axe in his hand.

The elephant, which had been accustomed to contend in that place, either with one of its own species or some more ferocious animal, took little notice of its puny foe, till, urged on by its driver, it made a charge at Bukhtyar, who dexterously avoided, and, at the same moment, struck the elephant with his battle-axe with such force on the trunk, that the animal screamed out and ran off. Shouts of wonder and acclamation resounded through the palace; and the Viceroy not only presented the General with a large sum of money himself, but ordered all the nobles to present him with an OFFERING of congratulation. The sum collected on this occasion was of considerable value; but the General, scorning to be thus enriched, added a sum of his own, and made a donation of the whole to the inferior servants of the court.

Shortly after this transaction, Mohammed was, in the year of the Hejira 599, re-appointed Governor of Behar, with orders to extend his conquests over all the neighbouring territories. A. D. 1202.

The remainder of the year 599 was occupied by Bukhtyar Khulijy in firmly establishing his authority over the province of Behar, and making such inquiries into the state of Bengal as might facilitate the conquest of that country. A. D. 1202-3.

Bengal was at that period ruled by a Hindoo prince, named Luchmunyah, who resided at Nuddeah, still a celebrated seat of Hindoo learning, and whose history has History of Luchmunyah, the last Raja of Bengal.

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been thus succinctly narrated by nearly a contemporary historian*.

On the death of Luchmun the father of Luchmunyah, this prince was still unborn; but as his mother, who was of the royal family of the Sovereigns of India, was far advanced in her pregnancy, the nobles seated her on the throne, and made their obeisance. When the princess felt the pains of labour approaching, she assembled the astrologers and Brahmans, and consulted them on the probable destiny of her child.

The astrologers, having attentively considered the position of the heavens, declared, that if the child should be born before a particular hour, his destiny would be replete with misery; but if after the time specified, he should enjoy a very long reign.

The intrepid lady immediately gave positive orders to her attendants, that, without paying any attention to her feelings, or regard to her safety, they should use every endeavour to postpone her delivery. The measures they adopted were rude and cruel; and although their efforts were attended with success, it was at the expence of the life of the mother†.

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* Abu Omar Menhajaddeen Giorjany, whose history, the *Tabkat Nassery*, was published in the year of the Hejira 658, corresponding with A.D. 1260, only fifty-eight years after the conquest of Bengal. The author had conversed with many persons who assisted in the conquest of that country; and he himself passed several months at the capital of Bengal.

† This circumstance will not be thought improbable by those who are acquainted with the little value the Hindoos set on the life of a woman, and the importance of the birth of a son. In proof of the first, see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IV. chap. 22.; and of the latter, see Note 6, to Wilkins's Translation of the *Bhagvat Geeta*.

As soon as the child was born, he was laid on the throne, and the commencement of his reign dated from that instant. This prince nominally ruled Bengal for eighty years, and was distinguished for his clemency, generosity, and justice.

A. D. 1202-3. In the 599th year of the Hejira, the Mohammedans having conquered the province of Behar, and extended their ravages to the borders of Bengal, the Brahmans and astrologers waited on the Raja, and represented that their ancient books contained a prophecy that the kingdom of Bengal should be subdued by the Toorks; that they were convinced the appointed time was now arrived; and advised him to remove his wealth, family, and seat of government (then at Nuddeah), to a more secure and distant part of the country, where they might be safe from any sudden incursion of their enemies.

The Raja, on hearing this representation, asked the Brahmans if their books gave any description of the person who was to be the conqueror of his dominions. They replied in the affirmative, and that the description exactly corresponded with the person of the Mohammedan General, then in Behar.

The Raja, being far advanced in years, and partial to his capital, would not listen to their advice, and took no measures to avoid the danger. But the nobles and principal inhabitants sent away their property and families, either to the province of Jagernaut, situated on the sea side, or to the countries on the north-east bank of the Ganges.

Bukhtyar invades Bengal, A. D. 1203-4. In the year 600, Mohammed Bukhtyar Khulijy, having acquired sufficient information of the unguarded state of Bengal, secretly assembled his troops; and marching from Behar, proceeded with such expedition towards Nuddeah, that his approach was not even suspected.

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On his arrival in the vicinity of the city, he concealed his troops in a wood, and, accompanied by only seventeen horsemen, entered the city. On passing the guards, he informed them, that he was an envoy, going to pay his respects to their master.

He was thus permitted to approach the palace; and having passed the gates, he and his party drew their swords, and commenced a slaughter of the royal attendants.

The Raja, Luchmunyah, who was then seated at dinner, alarmed by the cries of his people, made his escape from the palace by a private door, and, getting on board a small boat, rowed with the utmost expedition down the river.

The remainder of the Mohammedan troops now advanced, and, having slaughtered a number of the Hindoos, took possession of the city and palace. Soon as this intelligence was conveyed to the Raja, he became overwhelmed with affliction; and resolving to dedicate the remainder of his life to religion, he continued his journey to Jagernaut, and had the consolation of dying soon after in the vicinity of the sacred temple.

After the flight of the Raja, Bukhtyar gave up the city to be plundered by his troops, reserving for himself only the elephants and public stores. He then proceeded, without opposition, to Lucknowty, and established the ancient city of Gour * as the capital of his dominions. As a necessary part

Bukhtyar selects Gour as his Capital.

* The following extract from Major Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, gives the best modern account of the city of Gour that is to be found in print:

"Gour, called also Lucknouti, the ancient capital of Bengal, and supposed to be the *Gangia regia* of Ptolemy, stood on the left bank of the Ganges, about twenty-five miles below Rajemal. It was the capital of Bengal 730 years before Christ, and was repaired and beautified by Homayoon, who gave it the name of Jennuteabad; which name a part of the circar, in which it was situated, still bears. According to Ferishta's account, the

of this ceremony, he destroyed a number of Hindoo temples, and with their materials erected mosques, colleges, and caravanseries, on their ruins †.

Although elated by success, and absolute master of an extensive dominion, he did not assume to himself independence, but continued to stamp the coin with the name of the Sultan of Ghor; and sent a great portion of the elephants and treasure to Cuttub Addeen, the Viceroy, at Dehly.

In the course of a year, Mohammed Bukhtyar, having completely subdued Bengal, and stationed garrisons in all the strong

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unwholesomeness of its air occasioned it to be deserted soon after; and the seat of government was removed to Tanda, or Tanrah, a few miles higher up the river.

"No part of the site of ancient Gour is nearer to the present bank of the Ganges than four miles and a half; and some parts of it, which were originally washed by that river, are now twelve miles from it. However, a small stream, that communicates with the Ganges, now runs by its west side, and is navigable during the rainy season. On the east side, and in some places within two miles, it has the Mahanada river; which is always navigable, and communicates also with the Ganges.

"Taking the extent of the ruins of Gour at the most reasonable calculation, it is not less than fifteen miles in length (extending along the old bank of the Ganges), and from two to three in breadth. Several villages stand on part of its site: the remainder is either covered with thick forests, the habitations of tigers and other beasts of prey; or become arable land, whose soil is chiefly composed of brick-dust. The principal ruins are, a mosque lined with black marble, elaborately wrought; and two gates of the citadel, which are strikingly grand and lofty. These fabricks, and some few others, appear to owe their duration to the nature of their materials, which are less marketable, and more difficult to separate, than those of the ordinary brick buildings; which have been, and continue to be, an article of merchandize; and are transported to Moorshedabad, Mauldah, and other places, for the purpose of building. These bricks are of the most solid texture of any I ever saw; and have preserved the sharpness of their edges, and smoothness of their surfaces, through a series of ages. The situation of Gour was highly convenient for the capital of Bengal and Bahar, as united under one government: being nearly centrical with respect to the populous parts of those provinces; and near the junction of the principal rivers that compose that extraordinary inland navigation, for which those provinces are famed: and, moreover, secured by the Ganges and other rivers, on the only quarter from which Bengal has any cause for apprehension."

† In consequence of this conduct, which was imitated by his successors, many Hindoo Figures and Inscriptions are to be found in the ruins of these Mosques.

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Bukhtyar attempts the Conquest of Thibet.

places, was seized with the mad ambition of adding the bleak mountains of Bootan and Thibet to his dominions. He therefore appointed Mohammed Sherān Khulijy, his principal officer, to be his deputy during his absence; and proceeded, with a select detachment of 10,000 horse, towards the ridge of mountains which separates India from Tartary and China.

These mountains were inhabited by three distinct tribes, called Koonch, Mikeh, and Neharu. These people have all Tartar countenances, and speak a language between Hindy and Thibetian.

Mohammed Bukhtyar had the merit of converting one of the Chiefs of the tribe of Koonch to the Mussulman faith, to whom he gave the name of Aly Miekh. This person undertook to be his guide and director on this expedition. He first led the army to a city named Burdehun, or Murdehun, under the walls of which ran a very large river, called Bungmutty, three times as broad as the Ganges. This river falls into the Indian Sea, which is called, in the Hindy language, Sumundur. For ten days they proceeded upward, along the banks of this river; till they entered the narrow defiles of the mountains, and came to a stone bridge consisting of twenty-two arches, over which the army crossed.

As the possession of this bridge was of the utmost consequence, to secure a safe retreat, Mohammed Bukhtyar took the precaution of leaving a strong party to guard it, under the command of two officers; one of whom was of his own tribe, but the other a Toork.

When the Raja of Kamroop was informed that the army had crossed the bridge, he sent an envoy to Mohammed Bukhtyar, to solicit his friendship; and offering, if he would

postpone the expedition for another year, he would, at the expiration of that period, join him with all his forces, and lead him, by an easy route, into Thibet.

Mohammed, being either anxious to finish his undertaking, or giving little credit to the promises of the Raja, declined his offer; and proceeded for fifteen days through narrow valleys and over lofty mountains, till at length the army entered an extensive plain of Thibet, well cultivated and inhabited. They shortly after came to a well-fortified town, the inhabitants of which opposed them courageously, and killed a number of the Mussulmans *.

The armour of these people was entirely composed of bamboos, sewed or tied together with raw silk. With such materials they very ingeniously formed not only shields, breast-plates, and cuishes, but even helmets. Their offensive weapons were long spears, and large bows and arrows.

After a hard day's contest, the Mussulman forces were obliged to retire to their camp, without any other fruit of victory than a few prisoners; from whom they learned, that, at the distance of fifteen miles, there was a very large and strongly fortified city, called Kurmputtun, which was inhabited by Brahmans and Bootaneers; that their prince was a Christian, but that he had in his service an innumerable army of brave Tartars well versed in the use of the bow and spear; that a thousand or fifteen hundred horses were daily sold in its market; and that the species of horse, called Tanyan, or Tangan, well known in Bengal, was brought from thence;—that,

* Menhajaddeen, the author of the *Tabkat Nassery*, asserts, that in the year 642 of the Hejira, he visited, at Deocote in Bengal, Muatmid Addowleh, one of the officers who attended Bukhtyar on this expedition; and that he learned the facts from him.

SECT. III. on the first appearance of the Mussulmans, an express had been sent off to the city; and that, without doubt, a powerful force would arrive from thence early next morning.

This intelligence very much alarmed Mohammed Bukhtyar, whose army was considerably reduced by fatigue and battle. He therefore called a council of war, in which it was resolved that they should immediately retire, and return at a more favourable opportunity, with a greater force.

Two hours before day, the Mussulmans silently commenced their retreat; but as soon as the inhabitants of the country were aware of their intentions, they set fire to all the forage and grain which was on their route, and threw various obstacles in their way. At length, after suffering the greatest hardships, the Mussulmans arrived, on the fifteenth day, at the banks of the river which they had crossed: but how great was the disappointment of Mohammed Bukhtyar, to find that the officers, to whom he had entrusted the defence of the bridge, having quarrelled with each other, had abandoned their post; and that the insidious Raja of Kamroop*, now taking advantage of the distresses of the Mussulmans, had combined with the enemies to cut off his retreat, and had, in consequence, broken down two of the arches of the bridge.

In this dilemma, Mohammed ordered his troops to take possession of a large Hindoo temple, which was in the

* The boundaries of Kamroop are very indefinitely described. The name is applied by Mohammedan writers to all the countries between Bengal and Thibet, from the river Gunduck on the west, to the Burhampooter on the east. The crossing of so large a river determines the country invaded to have been South Assam, although the account of the Tanyan horses might lead us to suppose it was Bootan. From Doctor Wade we learn that Kamroop was formerly a very extensive kingdom; and that its capital was the present town of Rangamutty, in the N.E. corner of Bengal.—*See Asiatic Annual Register*, 1805.

vicinity, and which contained many massy idols of gold and silver; whilst a party were employed in cutting down wood and bamboos, to form rafts for crossing the river. During this time, the Raja of Kamroop, having collected a large army, surrounded the Mussulmans; but knowing that his troops could not withstand the close attack of their invaders, he ordered them to construct a line of circumvallation, composed of stakes interwoven with bamboos, at a considerable distance round the temple, and thus to starve their enemies to death.

When the Mussulmans saw this wall rising on all sides of them, they called out to their Commander: "If we remain longer here, we shall all be caught in the net of these infidels." So saying, they made a sudden charge upon the Hindoos, and cut their way through the unfinished stockade: they then retreated to the banks of the river, and each man employed himself in devising some means of getting over, whilst the Hindoos annoyed them from a distance with their arrows.

Bukhtyar's army destroyed, and he escapes with great difficulty.

One of the troopers having ridden some way up the banks of the river, discovered a place which for a short distance was fordable. The army seeing this, and supposing that the ford extended across the river, impetuously rushed after him; nor did they discover their mistake till too late. The majority of them were carried away by the rapidity of the current, and found a watery grave; whilst the General, and a small number of the best-mounted soldiers, with much difficulty reached the opposite side.

When Mohammed Bukhtyar had reached Koonch (probably Cooch Beyhar) he was hospitably received by the inhabitants, and especially the relations of Aly Miekh, who endeavoured

SECT. III. to alleviate his wants, and to mitigate his sorrows; but melancholy and disappointment overwhelmed him; and a few days after his arrival at Deocote in Bengal, he sunk under the pressure of his calamities, amidst the execrations and curses of the orphans and widows of the soldiers who had fallen a sacrifice to his insatiable ambition. His remains were carried to Behar, and there buried. These events happened in the year

A.D. 1205-6. of the Hejira 602.

Aly Murdan Khulijy, governor of Barsool, who will hereafter be noticed in this history, was suspected of having shortened the days of Mohammed Bukhtyar, by stabbing him while he lay in a state of stupefaction; but as there does not appear to have been sufficient inducement for so foul a deed, the story may, with probability, be imputed to the machinations of his rivals, or to the sanguinary character which he afterwards evinced.

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## MOHAMMED SHERAN AZA ADDEEN.

*Origin of Mohammed Sherān—Promoted by Mohammed Bukhtyar to the command of his Army—Elected Governor of Lucknowty (Gour) after the death of Bukhtyar, under the title of Aza Addeen—Excites the jealousy of the Emperor, who sends an army against him—Defeated, and killed in a quarrel of the Khulijy Chiefs.*

MOHAMMED SHERAN was a person of good family, of the tribe of Khulijy, and had given many proofs of activity and valour. It is related, that, after the Mussulman forces had taken possession of the city of Nuddeah, and the troops were

occupied in collecting the spoil from all the neighbouring villages, Mohammed Sherān was for three days absent, without any person knowing what was become of him. As Mohammed Bukhtyar esteemed him one of his best officers, he much regretted his loss, and sent a number of people to search for his body. Some of these, entering a wood, discovered Mohammed Sherān, mounted on horseback, with his spear in his hand, driving before him a body of thirty war-elephants belonging to the Raja, the drivers of whom were endeavouring to carry them off, but had been compelled by this indefatigable officer to return towards the city. This act of bravery raised him high in the opinion of Mohammed Bukhtyar: he promoted him to the command of his army; and, when he set out on his unfortunate expedition, he left Sherān at Lucknowty, as his Deputy in the government.

When Mohammed Sherān was informed of the death of his master, he marched with the troops under his command to Deocote, with an intention of seizing Aly Murdan, who was strongly suspected of having murdered the late Governor; but that Chief, alarmed at his approach, fled to his government of Barsool, where he made some resistance: he was however at length taken prisoner, and consigned to the charge of Baba Ispahany Cutwall. After this event, Mohammed Sherān returned to Lucknowty; where all the Mussulman commanders being assembled, they unanimously elected him to be their Chief, on condition of each receiving a certain district, or *feod*, for the support of their troops. On this occasion Mohammed Sherān assumed the ensigns of royalty, and took the title of Aza Addeen.

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In the mean time, Aly Murdan, having bribed the Cutwall* in whose charge he had been left, made his escape to Delhy; where he informed Cuttub Addeen, who had just then assumed the title of Emperor of Hindoostan, of the state of affairs in Bengal.

The Emperor, jealous of his authority having been thus slighted, ordered Kemar Roumy, Governor of Oude, to proceed to Bengal, and to make a new division of the districts amongst the Khulijy Chiefs. He was also directed to establish in that country an Imperial Dewan, to receive the Royal proportion of the revenues.

On the approach of the Imperial army, one of the Khulijy Chiefs, named Hissam Addeen Avuz, to whose lot had fallen the district of Gungowtry, or Kuthoury, joined the royal standards, and was confirmed in the government of Deocote; but the other Chiefs, disdaining submission, opposed Kemar Roumy: they were however defeated, and fled towards Cooch Beyhar, where, quarrelling amongst themselves, Mohammed Sherān fell by one of their swords.

After this event, Kemar Roumy, pardoning the remaining Chiefs, made a new division of the country amongst them; and having appointed an officer to receive the Imperial portion of the revenues, returned to his own government.

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* An officer somewhat similar to the Mayor or chief magistrate of a town.

## ALY MURDAN KULIJY ALA ADDEEN.

*Aly Murdan graciously received at Dehly—Accompanies Cuttub Addeen in his Expedition to Ghizne—Appointed the Emperor's Viceroy in Bengal—Rejects the authority of the Court of Dehly on the death of the Emperor—Proclaimed King of Bengal—Becomes vain and capricious—Assassinated by his Nobles.*

ALY MURDAN KHULIJY, who was suspectedof the murder of Mohammed Bukhtyar, was a man of great activity, courage, and resolution; and on making his escape from Bengal, was graciously received at the Court of Dehly, where he arrived just as the Emperor, Cuttub Addeen, was setting out for Ghizne. He immediately offered his services to attend the Royal stirrup; and his request having been complied with, he in a short time insinuated himself so much into the good graces of the Sultan, that he became one of his greatest favourites.

Although Cuttub Addeen was at first successful in driving away his rival Eldoze, and in gaining possession of the city of Ghizne, he was finally obliged to relinquish it, and to retire to Lahore†, where, as has been before related, he died in the year of the Hejira 607. A. D. 1210.

During the expedition to Ghizne, Aly Murdan was taken prisoner, and carried into the presence of Eldoze, who so far gave him his liberty, as to permit him to attend him while hunting. The recompence which he made for this act of condescension, was an offer to imbrue his hands in the blood of that prince; but his overture having been rejected, he was sent back to Cuttub Addeen, with whom he returned to Lahore;

† See History of Hindoostan, A. H. 602.

SECT. III. and, about the year 605, was appointed to be that Emperor's
A. D. 1208. Viceroy in Bengal.

In obedience to the royal mandate, Hissam Addeen Avuz, and the other Khulijy Chiefs, met the new Viceroy on the banks of the river Coosa; thence they carried him to Deocote, and placed him on the Musnud. Shortly after, he proceeded to Lucknowty (Gour), and obtained the undisputed controul of the kingdom.

A. D. 1210. Upon the death of Sultan Cuttub Addeen, in 607, Aly Murdan rejected the authority of the Court of Dehly, and, assuming the white umbrella and other ensigns of royalty, caused himself to be proclaimed King of Bengal, under the title of Sultan Ala Addeen.

Previous to this event, Aly Murdan had been esteemed a vigilant and brave officer, but his head now became turned with vanity. On his public court-days he used to talk of the Kings of Persia, Khorassan, and Dehly, as his inferiors; and went so far as to bestow provinces of their dominions on his menial servants.

It is related, that one day a merchant complained to the new king, of having lost all his property by shipwreck or some other accident. The king asked of what country he was; and when informed that he was a Persian, he desired his minister immediately to draw out a patent, constituting the merchant Governor of Ispahan. The minister, not daring to say that Ispahan was the property of another monarch, retired to an adjoining apartment, under pretence of preparing the patent; but soon after returned, and represented to his majesty, that the merchant was truly grateful for the favour conferred, but that, as it was requisite he

should be attended by a proper escort of troops, and should enter on his government in a dignified style, he begged to be further assisted with a sum of money, for the purpose of purchasing horses and equipments. Aly Murdan felt himself outwitted; but rather than lower his dignity, he ordered a large sum to be given to the fellow.

Had the conduct of this king been restricted to such ludicrous actions, it might have been excused by his subjects, though very offensive to the neighbouring monarchs; but he extended the hand of rapine and murder, not only to the Hindoos, but unjustly put several of the Khulijy nobles to death. Their patience being at length exhausted, they assassinated him, in the second year of his impolitic reign, and the 609th year of the Hejira. A.D. 1212.

## HISSAM ADDEEN AVUZ GHYAS ADDEEN.

*His Origin—Entertains two Derveishes, who predict his future greatness—Accompanies Mohammed Bukhtyar into Bengal, and promoted to the government of Gungowtry—Elected to the Musnud of Bengal—Improves the City of Lucknowty—Makes tributary the neighbouring Rajas—Offends the Court of Dehly—Prevents the Emperor's army from passing the Ganges—Makes peace with the Emperor—Drives the Royal troops from Behar—His territory again invaded by the Emperor's army—Slain, after many proofs of valour.*

After the assassination of Aly Murdan, the Khulijy Chiefs raised to the throne Hissam Addeen Avuz, a nobleman who had given frequent proofs of his abilities and valour, and who was highly esteemed by all parties.

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Origin of Hissam Addeen.

This Chief was descended of a good family, who resided at Ghor in Persia. When he arrived at the age of manhood, he travelled towards Toorkistan, in order to improve his fortune; and one day, having climbed an hill called Pooshteh Afroz, he there found two Derveishes, who, putting their trust in Providence, travelled through the world without any worldly care, or attention to their own wants. After the customary salutation, the Derveishes asked him if he had any provision with him. He replied that he had; and immediately opening his stores, gave them several cakes of bread, and some savoury meats. While they were eating, he procured them water to drink; and during the continuance of their meal, he respectfully attended them as a servant. When they had finished, they returned him thanks, and told him that he must immediately proceed to India, where there was a kingdom allotted for him.

His prosperity foretold.

Hissam Addeen, feeling a confidence in their prediction, was much rejoiced at this intelligence, and immediately turned his steps towards Hindoostan. On his arrival there, he was admitted into the service of his countryman, Mohammed Bukhtyar, whom he accompanied into Bengal, where he quickly obtained promotion, and, at the time of his master's death, was Governor of Gungowtry.

On his election to the Musnud of Bengal, he assumed the title of Ghyas Addeen, and, having removed his residence to Lucknowty (Gour), he took much pains, and expended large sums of money in improving that city. He built there a superb mosque, a college, and a caravansery; and, as the country in the vicinity of Gour was subject to inundations, he constructed causeways, extending on one side to Naghore in Beerbhoom, and on the other side to Deocote, being ten days'

Improves the city of Lucknowty.

journey, which enabled the inhabitants to travel with convenience, at all times of the year, over a tract which had been considered nearly impassable during the season of the rains*.

This prince was a liberal encourager of the Arts and Literature. Many of the stately edifices of Gour were erected by him; and he bestowed ample pensions upon the learned and devout. He also distributed justice with great impartiality, making no distinction between the rich and the poor, the Mohammedan and the Hindoo.

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* Colonel Colebrook, late Surveyor-general of Bengal, was of opinion that the Ganges formerly ran under the walls of Gour, although its present bed is three miles distant from the ruins†: but the following description of that city, written on the spot by Menhajaddeen, author of the *Tabkat Nassery*, A.D. 1243-4, proves that the Ganges ran through the middle of it, and that the city, or citadel, was on the western side of the river: which confirms Mr. Wilford's‡ supposition respecting the course of the Ganges. "The writer of this work arrived at Lucknowty in the year 641, and visited all the religious buildings erected by that prince (Hissam Addeen Avuz). Lucknowty consists of two wings, one on each side of the Ganges: the western side is called Dal, and the city of Lucknowty is on that side. From Lucknowty to Naghore (in Beerbhoom), and, on the other side, to Deocote, a mound or causeway is formed the distance of ten days' journey, which in the rainy season prevents the waters from overflowing the lands: and if this mound did not exist, there would be no other mode of travelling, nor of visiting the edifices in the neighbourhood, but in boats. Since his time, in consequence of the construction of the causeway, the road is open to every body."

For the satisfaction of Persian scholars, the original is here inserted:

منتخب از احوال ملك حسام الدين غياث الدين

كاتب در شهور سنه احدي و اربعين و ستمايه بديار لكهنوتي رسيد ور اطراف ان بلاد خيرات ان پادشاة مشاهده افتاد لكهنوتي دو جناچ دارد بر دو طرف آب كنك طرف غربي را دال كويند و شهر لكهنوتي بران جانب است از لكهنوتي تابيهور مكور واز طرف ويكر تابشهر ديوكوت پل بسته است بقدر ده روز راه بسبب انيه در ان راه بوقت برشكال ان زمين آب كيرد واكر ان راه پلوان نباشد مكر وركشتي بمقاصد وعمارت اطراف نتوان رسيد از عهد او بسبب عمارت ان پلوانها راه برجميع خلق كشاده وشد

† See Asiatic Researches, vol. VII. p. 10. 8vo. edition.

‡ Ibid. vol. V. p. 272.

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His time, however, was not occupied solely by these acts of peace. He carried his arms into the territories of the Rajas of Kamroop, Tirhoot, and Jagernaut, which had never been before subdued by the Mohammedan arms, and compelled them to pay him tribute.

For ten years he reigned with great prosperity; but having neglected to send presents to the Court of Dehly, the Emperor Altumsh, son-in-law of Cuttub Addeen, in the year of the
A. D. 1225. Hejira 622, marched from Dehly, and, without opposition, took possession of Behar: but Ghyas Addeen, having secured all the boats, prevented the royal army from crossing the Ganges; and, by the mediation of some friends, the Emperor at length agreed to make peace, and let him retain the government of Bengal on the following conditions;—that the money should in future be stampt, and the *Khutbē* (proclamation) read, in the name of Altumsh; and that Ghyas Addeen should present the Emperor with thirty-eight elephants and a large sum of money, and send annually a tribute to Dehly. These terms having been ratified, the Emperor returned towards Dehly, previously appointing a nobleman, named Mulk Ala Addeen, to be Governor of Behar: but scarcely had he arrived in his capital, before Ghyas Addeen crossed the river, dispossessed the new Governor, and drove the royal troops out of the district of Behar.

The Emperor was highly irritated at this conduct; and having assembled a numerous army in Oude, under the command of his son, Nasir Addeen, he ordered that prince to proceed to, and subdue Bengal. Nasir Addeen marched from
A. D. 1227. Oude in the year 624, at a time when Ghyas Addeen was employed in subduing some of the Rajas in the eastern parts of

Bengal: in consequence of which the young prince obtained possession of Lucknowty without opposition. But as soon as Ghyas Addeen had received intelligence of the invasion, he hastened to meet his opponents. He courageously attacked them in the neighbourhood of his capital; and, after exhibiting many proofs of valour, fell, with many of his Chiefs, either on the field of battle, or immediately after, by the hands of the executioner. SECT. III.

This prince reigned twelve years; and with such reputation, that even the Emperor Altumsh always spoke of him with the highest respect, saying, that he well deserved the title of *Sultan*, and the epithet of *Supporter of the Faith*.

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## THE PRINCE NASIR ADDEEN.

On the death of Ghyas Addeen, the young prince took possession of Bengal and Behar, in the name of the Emperor; and having sent the family of the deceased and the plunder of Lucknowty to Dehly, was appointed Viceroy of those provinces, with permission to use the red umbrella, and other insignia of royalty.

He is said to have ruled with great justice for nearly five years, and died at Lucknowty in the year 626. Upon this event, the Khulijy Chiefs revolted, and for some time threw the affairs of Bengal into confusion; but the Emperor Altumsh having marched from Dehly on the news of his son's death, entered Bengal early in 627, and, after defeating the rebels, appointed Mulk Ala Addeen to the government. A. D. 1228-9. A. D. 1229-30.

## MULK ALA ADDEEN, AND SIEF ADDEEN TOORK.

THE former of these Nobles, after having held the government of Bengal for four years, was succeeded by Sief Addeen Toork,
A. D. 1237. who, at the end of three years, died by poison (A. H. 634).

## AZA ADDEEN TOGHAN KHAN.

*Origin of Toghan Khan—Promoted to the Government of Bengal—Invades Tirhoot—Seizes the Province of Kurrah Manikpore—His unsuccessful attack on Ketasun—The Orissians besiege him in Gour—Timour Khan sent to his assistance—Superseded by Timour—Retires with his property to Dehly—Appointed Governor of Oude—Dies.*

TOGHAN KHAN was born in the district of Khota in Tartary. He was handsome in his person, and possessed of every amiable quality. Whilst a youth, he was purchased by the Emperor Altumsh, who for several years employed him in confidential situations in the royal household, and in the year
A.D. 1233. 630 appointed him to the government of Budaoon (now Rohilcund). Having distinguished himself in this situation, he was promoted to Behar; and on the death of Sief Addeen
A.D. 1237. Toork, in 634, was rewarded with the important government of Bengal.

When Sultana Rizia, daughter of the Emperor Altumsh, ascended the throne of Dehly in the end of the year 634, Toghan Khan sent an eloquent agent, with valuable presents, to Court, and by these means was not only confirmed in his government, but was also promoted to the highest rank of

nobility, with permission to use the red umbrella, as the representative of the Empress.

In order to signalize himself in his new situation, the Governor led his army into Tirhoot; and having compelled the Raja to pay him a large sum of money, returned in triumph to Gour.

During the early part of the impotent reign of the Emperor Musaoud, Toghan Khan, finding that all the other Omrahs were extending their authority to the annihilation of the Imperial dignity, resolved to add the province of Kurrah Manikpore to his dominions. With this intention he marched from Gour; and having effected his purpose without any opposition, remained in the city of Kurrah for a considerable time. During his residence there, in 640, he was joined by A.D. 1242. Menhaj Scraje Addeen Giorjany, author of the Tabkat Nassery, with whom he shortly after returned to Bengal.

In the year 641, the Raja of Jagepore (Orissa) having A.D. 1243. given some cause of offence, Toghan Khan marched, in the month of Shual, to Ketasun, on the frontier of Jagepore, where he found the army of the Raja had thrown up entrenchments to oppose him.

On Saturday the 6th of Zykād, the Mohammedans drew up in order of battle, and, having made a vigorous attack on the entrenchments of the enemy, succeeded in taking two of the lines; but there being still a third, and the troops fatigued and oppressed with heat, Toghan Khan allowed them to halt and refresh themselves. In the mean time, a small party of the Hindoo cavalry, getting into his rear, seized upon the elephants, and began to plunder the camp. On seeing this, the Mohammedans retreated in great disorder; and being

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warmly pursued by their enemies, numbers of them were slain, and all their baggage and elephants seized by the enemy. Toghan Khan was therefore compelled to return with ignominy to Lucknowty, whence he sent a special messenger to solicit assistance from the Emperor.

The Orissians besiege Gour, A. D. 1244.

The Raja being encouraged by this success, invaded Bengal; and in the month of Shual of the following year, 642, the Orissa army, which was accompanied by a number of war elephants, laid siege to the city of Gour, but were vigorously opposed by Toghan Khan. Another party of the Orissians made an attack upon Naghore, the capital of Beerbhoom, the defence of which had been entrusted to Kureem Addeen, who with a great number of his followers fell in the contest, and the town was plundered by the enemy.

In the mean time, the army of Oude, under the command of Timour Khan Keran, which had been ordered by the Emperor to the assistance of Toghan Khan, approached Lucknowty. When intelligence of this event reached the Orissians, they were alarmed, and retreated with their plunder to their own country*.

When Timour Khan arrived at Lucknowty, being either irritated at the Hindoos having escaped with their plunder, or captivated by the appearance of the rich country through which he had passed, he affirmed that his commission from the Court superseded Toghan Khan in the government, and demanded possession of the city of Lucknowty. This claim was resisted by the Governor; and an appeal to arms was the result.

* The national vanity of Ferishtah has induced him to convert the attack of the humble Orissians into an invasion of Tartars, part of the immense host of Jenghiez Khan, who about that period were approaching India.—*See History of Hindoostan, vol. I. p. 179.*

from the dawn of day till the sun had nearly attained the meridian. The inhabitants of Bengal were amused by the view of two Mohammedan armies opposed to each other: but, by the interference of Menhajaddeen, and other mutual friends of the Chiefs, the combatants were at length separated, and each party returned to their respective camps. That of Toghan Khan being close to the gate of the city, most of his men went into the town, either to their families, or to procure provisions, leaving their Chief nearly alone. The spies of Timour having brought him intelligence of the situation of his rival, he immediately headed his cavalry, and rushed towards the tent of Toghan Khan. The latter had barely time to vault on his horse, and to take refuge within the city walls. This event occurred on Saturday the 5th of Zykād, 642.

Timour Khan supersedes Toghan Khan in the government of Bengal.

A. D. 1244.

After this, by the intervention of Menhajaddeen Giorjany, and some other friends, it was agreed that Toghan should be allowed to take away with him all his treasure, elephants, and other property, and that Timour Khan should continue as Governor of Bengal.

Toghan was favourably received at the Court of Dehly, and was soon after appointed Governor of Oude, in which situation he died, in the year 644.

A. D. 1246.

## TIMOUR KHAN KERAN.

Timour Khan was a native of Kipchak (north of the Caspian Sea), and was purchased by Sultan Altumsh for 50,000 *Rytel*. Being a youth of great comeliness and bravery, he was speedily promoted to various offices of importance, and was at length

SECT. III. entrusted with the government of Oude; whence, as has been before related, he proceeded to Bengal; which country he governed with great prudence for two years, and died at Gour
A. D. 1246. in the year 644, on the same night that his predecessor, Toghan Khan, died in the city of Oude. His remains were, by his own desire, carried to Oude, and were buried close to those of his rival.

### SIEF ADDEEN YUGAN TUNT.

ORIGINALLY a Turkish slave, succeeded to the government of Bengal, and reigned with considerable reputation for seven
A. D. 1253. years. He died at Gour, in the year 651.

### IKHTYAR ADDEEN, TOGHRIL KHAN, MULK YUZBEK.

*His Origin—Intriguing disposition—Confinement—Raised to the Government of Bengal—Invades Orissa, without success—Invades the Raja of Azmurdun, and obtains much plunder—Aims at independence—Unsuccessful Expedition against Oude—Invades the Raja of Kamroop, and plunders his capital—Defeated in his retreat from Kamroop, and taken prisoner—Dies.*

THIS Chief was also one of the Tartar slaves of the Emperor Altumsh; and having been by degrees promoted to an important command in the army, joined the rebels, who, in the year 634, deposed Ferose, the son of his master, and exalted the Sultana Rizia to the throne; but three years afterwards he turned his arms against the Princess, and became a favourite with the emperor, Byram Shah. His intriguing disposition, however, having rendered him suspected, two months before the tragical death of that emperor, which occurred in the end

of the year 639, he was seized and confined; but upon the accession of Musaood he obtained his release. Under the reign of that emperor, he obtained first the government of Tiberhind, and subsequently that of Lahore. In this situation he evinced a refractory spirit, and was recalled to Dehly; but was pardoned at the intercession of his friends. He was subsequently intrusted with the government of Cannouge, and afterwards with that of Oude; whence, on the death of Sief Addeen Yugan Tunt, (A. H. 651) he was transferred to Bengal. A. D. 1253.

Unsuccessful Expedition against the Orissians.

The first act of his government was the assembling of an army, to revenge the disgrace which the Mohammedan arms had sustained, in the year 641, from the Raja of Jagepore (Orissa), as has been before related. He accordingly invaded the dominions of that prince, and was victorious in two battles; but in the third was completely defeated, and lost all his elephants, among which was a white one, esteemed a great curiosity.

In the following year he invaded the territories of the Raja of *Azmurdun**, and took the capital of that prince, with all his treasure and elephants. After overrunning that country for some months, he returned, loaded with plunder and captives, to Lacknowty.

Mulk Yuzbek aims at Independence.

The success of his late expedition, and the distracted state of the empire of Dehly, inflamed the Governor with the ambition of independence: he accordingly assumed not only the red and black, but the white umbrella; and took upon himself the title of Mogies Addeen. Shortly after, he assembled a numerous army, and proceeded to Oude. Here he was opposed

* Probably Sube), in which there is still a large town, called *Azmurgunge*.

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by the Governor of that district; and it being rumoured that the Emperor was marching in person against him, he made a speedy and disgraceful retreat to Bengal.

This rebellion of Mulk Yuzbek against his legitimate Sovereign rendered him contemptible in the eyes of all mankind; nor did his ill actions go unrequited, as will subsequently appear.

Mulk Yuzbek invades Kamroop, A. D. 1256-7.

In the beginning of the year 655, he assembled his army, and, having crossed the Bagmutty river, invaded the territories of the Raja of Kamroop*. That Chief, finding himself unable to oppose the Mohammedans, retreated into the mountains; and his capital was taken possession of by the invaders, who found therein immense wealth. Mulk Yuzbek ordered a mosque to be built; and after the accustomary prayers and thanksgiving, for the success of the Mohammedan arms, had been read, he was proclaimed Sovereign of the United Kingdoms of Bengal and Kamroop.

During this time, the Raja sent an ambassador to Mulk Yuzbek, offering, on condition of his retiring, not only to pay him a large tribute of money and elephants, but also to stamp the coin in his name. These offers were rejected by Mulk Yuzbek with disdain: but he had shortly occasion to repent his temerity; for the Hindoos, having taken possession of the roads, cut off all the supplies of grain; and, as soon as the rainy season set in, cut the banks of the rivers, and overflowed all the low country. In this dilemma, the invaders attempted to retreat across the mountains; but lost their road, and suffered the greatest distress. At length the Hindoos, having completely surrounded

* See Note in p. 48.

them in a defile, galled them severely with their arrows. Mulk Yuzbek, who rode upon an elephant, being thereby rendered very conspicuous, was mortally wounded; after which the whole of the Mohammedan army yielded themselves prisoners to the enemy. Mulk Yuzbek was then carried before the Raja; and when introduced to that prince, he requested that his son, who had been with him in the battle, might be sought for, and, if alive, brought to him: his request was complied with; and the youth having been found among the prisoners, was brought to his father, who embraced him, and immediately after yielded up his soul to his Maker. This event occurred in the year 656.

Defeated, and mortally wounded, A.D. 1257.

## JELAL ADDEEN KHANY.

As soon as the death of Mulk Yuzbek was known at the Court of the emperor Nasir Addeen Mohammed, the ministers of the empire, judging it a favourable opportunity to recover their influence in Bengal, despatched (in the year 656) a Chief, named Jelal Addeen Khany, to take possession of that province. This officer was received by the subordinate Chiefs with every mark of respect due to the Imperial authority, and permitted to assume the reins of government without any opposition. Jelal Addeen, after settling the business in the neighbourhood of Lucknowty, was induced to lead his army into the eastern part of Bengal, to reduce some of the independent Rajas to obedience; but while thus employed, his government was invaded from a quarter whence he could least have suspected it: for Irsilan Khan, the Imperial Governor of Kurrah, having been intrusted with the command

A.D. 1257.

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of an army to subdue the Raja of Callinger, in Bundelcund, suddenly turned his footsteps towards Bengal, and, after a siege of a few days, got possession of Gour. In a subsequent engagement he killed Jelal Addeen; but in consequence of his sending the elephants, horses, and other property of the murdered chief, as a bribe to the flagitious minister, the Vizier of the contemptible Court of Dehly, his conduct was overlooked.

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IZA AL MULK, TAJADDEEN, IRSILAN KHAN, SUNJIR KHUARIZMY.

THIS Chief was also one of the slaves of the Emperor Altumsh, and was promoted, by degrees, to the principal offices of
A. D. 1258. the state. He at length, in the year 657, obtained the government of Kurrah, with orders to subdue the countries of Callinger and Malwa: but having made several marches in that direction, he suddenly turned his route towards Bengal; the Governor of which province being absent on an expedition to the eastward, he, after a siege of three days, obtained possession of the city of Lucknowty. The Governor, Jelal Addeen, returning soon afterwards, an engagement took place, in the month of Jummad 657, between the two chiefs. The latter was slain in the contest; and the plunder of his property having been remitted to Dehly, procured the confirmation of the usurper. He continued to rule Bengal for two years, and died
A. D. 1260. at Lucknowty in the year 659.

## MOHAMMED TATAR KHAN.

THIS Chieftain was celebrated for his generosity, bravery, and virtue; and was so great a favourite with the army, that, on the death of his father, the late Governor, in 659, he took quiet possession of his office: and the attention of the Emperor Nasir Addeen being at that time much occupied in defending his northern frontier against the Moghuls, it was thought unadvisable to depose him. But when, in the year 664, the reins of supreme authority had fallen into the able hands of Balin, the Governor of Bengal drew his neck within the circle of obedience, and despatched to Dehly a rich tribute, consisting of sixty-three elephants, great quantities of silks, muslins, &c. and a large sum in specie.

A. D. 1265, Tatar Khan sends rich presents to Delhy.

As this event occurred in the first year of Balin's reign, the Emperor considered it an auspicious omen, and ordered the cavalcade to be introduced into the capital with great pomp. The agents were received in public court, and were distinguished by dresses of honour; and a few days after received from the hands of the Emperor a commission, confirming Tatar Khan in his government; to which were added several presents, as a proof of the royal favour. This conduct had such an effect on the mind of Tatar Khan, that he continued thenceforward a faithful vassal of the Court of Dehly, and died at Lucknowty in the year 676.

A. D. 1277.

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## SULTAN MOGIES ADDEEN TOGHRIL.

*Promoted to the Government of Bengal—Enforces tribute from the neighbouring Rajas—Invades Jagenagur—Aims at independence, and proclaims himself King of Bengal—Obtains two successive victories over the Royal army—The Emperor takes the field in person, and Toghril retires towards Jagenagur—Pursued by the Emperor's army—His Camp surprised—Toghril slain while endeavouring to escape—His Adherents and Relatives put to death—The Emperor bestows the government on Nasir Addeen, the youngest of his own sons.*

His Origin.

TOGHRIL was originally a Tartar slave, and had the good fortune to be purchased by the Emperor Balin, with whom he became so great a favourite, that, on the government of Bengal becoming vacant, he was intrusted with that important command. Being a person of a courageous and active disposition, he turned his arms against the Rajas whose territories adjoined to the north-east of Bengal, and compelled them to pay him tribute.

Invades Jagenagur, A. D. 1279.

In the year 678, he assembled a very numerous army, and invaded the country of Jagenagur (Tippera). After having defeated the Raja in a general engagement, he plundered the inhabitants, and brought away with him immense wealth and one hundred elephants. At this period the Emperor Balin was confined to his bed by sickness; and his two sons were employed in defending the northern boundaries of the kingdom against the Moghuls.* Toghril, fired by ambition, and destitute of every principle of gratitude, deemed this a favourable opportunity to render himself independent; and having caused it to

Toghril rebels against the Emperor.

* These were the troops of Zingis or Jenghiez Khan, who at that period made several incursions into Hindoostan.

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be reported that the Emperor was dead, he assumed the red umbrella and other insignia of royalty, and proclaimed himself King of Bengal, under the title of Sultan Mogies Addeen.

Toghril twice overcomes the Royal Army.

When this intelligence reached the Court of Dehly, the Emperor was much alarmed; and though far from being well, he appeared in public, and caused it to be notified throughout all his dominions that he was perfectly recovered from his indisposition. He also wrote a letter to Toghril, upbraiding him with his ingratitude, and conjuring him to return to his allegiance: but this letter not producing any effect on the mind of the traitor, the Emperor appointed Mulk Abektegien, whose title was Ameen Khan, to the government of Bengal; and placed under his command a numerous army, ordering him to proceed and expel the rebel. Abektegien marched from Oude, crossed the river Gogra, and continued his march towards Bengal. He was met on the frontier by Toghril, who having previously corrupted some of the Tartar Chiefs in the royal army, engaged the remainder, and obtained an easy victory.

On receiving intelligence of this event, the Emperor was enraged, and ordered Abektegien to be hanged at the gate of Oude, the seat of his late government. He at the same time despatched another army, under the command of Turmutty, a Turkish officer, with orders to extirpate the rebels. But this General was not more successful than his predecessor: he was totally routed, and lost all his baggage and the public treasure.

The Emperor takes the field in person against Toghril.

When the news of this second defeat reached the Emperor, he was overwhelmed with affliction; but recovering his former energy, he resolved to proceed in person against the rebel: he therefore gave orders to assemble a numerous army; and having collected an immense fleet of boats in the rivers Jumna

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and Ganges, he proceeded, early in the rainy season, accompanied by his younger son, Bagora Khan, towards Bengal.

Although Toghril would have boldly defied an army commanded by any of the nobles, he durst not openly contend with his former master and sovereign: he therefore collected all his wealth and elephants, and proceeded with a chosen detachment towards Jagenagur, resolving to remain there till the Emperor should return to Dehly.

On the arrival of the Emperor at Gour, he appointed Hissam Addeen governor of Bengal; and having halted there a few days, to make the requisite arrangements, he then proceeded, in pursuit of the rebel, towards Jagenagur.

When the Imperial army arrived at Sunergong*, Dhinuj Rai, the Chief of that district, paid his compliments to the Emperor, and, having taken the test of allegiance, undertook to guard the passage of the river against the rebel, should he endeavour to make his escape that way.

The Emperor continued his march with great expedition, but for many days could obtain no information respecting Toghril. He therefore ordered a detachment of 7000 horse, under the command of Mulk Barik, to proceed a day's march in advance of the army, and to scour the country for intelligence.

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* In Dow's History, vol. I. p. 202, Jagenagur is said to have been a town in Orissa, near Cuttack; but this passage proves it to have been situated on the eastern side of the Burhampooter. The Jagenagur mentioned by Ferishtah should have been written Jagepore, still a town of some consequence in Cuttack. *See page 65.*

Sunergong is thus described in Rennell's Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan:—"Sunergong, or Sunnergaum, was a large city, and the provincial capital of the eastern division of Bengal, before Dacca was built; but it is dwindled to a village: it is situated on one of the branches of the Burhampooter, about thirteen miles south-east from Dacca, and was famous for a manufacture of fine cotton cloths."

That Dacca is a modern city, is evinced by its not being noticed, at least under that name, in the *Ayeen Akbery*. See Sircar Sunergong, vol. II. p. 288.

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After a lapse of several days, a picquet, consisting of forty horse, belonging to the advanced guard, commanded by Mohammed Shir, fell in with some grain merchants, whose empty sacks evinced that they had lately disposed of their property. Of these Mohammed inquired if they had seen or heard aught of the rebel army. They at first pretended ignorance; but Mohammed having ordered one of them to be beheaded, the others fell on their knees, and acknowledged they had on that morning disposed of their grain in the rebel camp, which was only a few miles in front of them.

Mohammed immediately despatched the merchants, under an escort, to the officer commanding the advanced guard; and proceeded with his forty troopers till he came within sight of the camp, and could plainly distinguish the tents of Toghril, and that the rebels were so completely off their guard as to have turned their horses loose into the corn-fields. Being fired with the ambition of seizing the rebel himself, Mohammed urged his small party to make the attempt: they advanced in full speed, and were permitted by the unsuspicious enemy to enter the camp. On their arrival at the tent of Toghril, they drew their swords, and, crying out "Victory to the Emperor Balin!" rushed forward to the tent of audience, and put a number of the persons therein to death.

Toghril's camp surprised.

Toghril, on hearing the alarm, supposing he was surprised by the whole of the royal army, fled in the greatest perturbation. He vaulted on a horse without a saddle, and galloped towards the river; but was perceived and pursued by Malleck, the brother of Mohammed, who shot him with an arrow, as his horse was swimming the river. Toghril immediately fell; and Malleck, plunging into the stream, dragged him to the shore, and cut off his head.

Toghril slain while endeavouring to escape.

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The royal party having in the mean time put to death a number of Toghril's principal officers, an universal panic seized the rebels, and they fled on all sides. The advanced guard soon after came up, and secured the encampment.

An express was immediately sent off to the Emperor with an account of the victory, which was corroborated by the head of the rebel Chief. On the following day, the Emperor, with the whole of the Imperial army, arrived, and took possession of all the wealth and elephants. The Emperor, after glutting his avarice with the spoils of the conquered, returned towards Gour, and, on his arrival in that city, ordered a number of the adherents and relations of Toghril, including their wives and children, to be put to a cruel death. This was the first time that any of the Emperors of India had inflicted punishment on the women and children of rebels.

Nasir Addeen crowned King of Bengal.

The Emperor some time after bestowed on his younger son the kingdom of Bengal, with the title of Sultan Nasir Addeen (Defender of the Faith)*, and conferred on him all the insignia of royalty: he also admonished him never to contend with the Emperor of Dehly; but whether that throne should be occupied by a brother, a relation, or a stranger, to be always subservient to him, and to avoid opposition, by retiring to a distant part of the country, if the Imperial standards should ever advance towards Bengal. Having added some salutary rules for his conduct and the government of his subjects, he returned towards Dehly, in the year 681.

A. D. 1282.

* In Dow's *History of Hindoostan* he is called Kera, but in my Manuscripts the name is written Bagora.

## SULTAN NASIR ADDEEN BAGORA KHAN

*Attends his Father's commands at Dehly—Returns to his government of Bengal, and loses the succession to the throne of Dehly—His Son, Kiekobad, made Emperor—Nasir Addeen, displeased with his Son's administration, proceeds with an army towards Dehly—Affectionate meeting with his Son on the Plain of Oude—Terms of Peace agreed on—The Emperor assassinated soon after his return to Dehly—Nasir Addeen resigns the government of Bengal—Behadur Khan appointed in his stead—Behadur's conduct displeases the Court of Dehly—Nasir Addeen re-appointed to the government of Lucknowty—Dies.*

THIS prince governed Bengal for several years with much reputation; but his elder brother, Mohammed, having been killed in a battle with the Moghuls in the vicinity of Moultan, the Emperor ordered him, in the year 685, to proceed to Dehly, A. D. 1286. and, on his arrival there, thus addressed him:—"The sudden death of thy elder brother has bent down my aged head with sorrow to the grave; and although he has left a son who is doubtless the legitimate heir to the throne, the youth is of too tender an age to wield with effect the weighty sceptre of Hindoostan: it must therefore be placed in more able hands. You are my only prop and support. Bear for the short period, for which I am destined to remain in this world, the yoke of dependence. Send a deputy to govern Bengal, and remain near my throne, ready to step into it as soon as Fate shall call me hence."—The prince promised implicit obedience to the will of his aged parent; but several months having elapsed, and the Emperor improving in his health, Nasir Addeen resolved to return to Bengal, and leave the empire of Dehly for those to whom it might be destined by Providence.

SECT. III.

Having taken this resolution, he requested permission of his father to make a short excursion, for the purpose of hunting; and under this pretence quitted Dehly, and proceeded directly to Gour.

This step gave great offence to the Emperor; who thereon sent for Ky Khusero, the son of the Prince Mohammed, and declared him the heir of his kingdoms: soon after which event
A.D. 1286. he departed this life, in the end of the year 685, and in the eightieth year of his age.

Notwithstanding the legitimate claim of Ky Khusero to the kingdom, which was further sanctioned by the will of the
Kiekobad, son of Nasir Addeen, created Emperor. deceased Emperor, the nobles raised Kiekobad to the throne, a prince of eighteen years of age, son of Nasir Addeen the king of Bengal. This youth soon fell into all the allurements of pleasure, and devoted his whole time to amusement; relinquishing to his minister, Nizam Addeen, the government of his dominions.

Nasir Addeen was well pleased with the elevation of his son to the throne: but when informed of his unworthy conduct, he wrote to him, severely reprehending his behaviour, and advising him to discard the unworthy minister. Finding, however, that his advice was of no avail, he gave orders for assembling an army, resolving to go in person to Dehly, and to effect a revolution. The son, also, displeased with the admonitions of his father, and goaded by the animosity of the minister, advanced at the head of a great force towards Bengal. In the
A.D. 1288. year 687, the two armies approached within a few miles of each other; the camp of the father being on the banks of the river Sirve, and that of the son on the banks of the Gogra, both in the district of Sircar Sarun, part of North Behar.

SECT. III.

Interview of Nasir Addeen with his son.

Nasir Addeen, finding it impossible to reduce his son by force, made overtures of reconciliation to him: but the prince, at the instigation of his minister, rejected them with disdain. Three days were passed in this manner, when, on the fourth day, Nasir Addeen wrote with his own hand the following letter:—"My beloved son, my desire of seeing you exceeds all bounds; nor can I endure to be longer separated from you. The patriarch Jacob did not more anxiously wish to embrace his son Joseph before his death, than I do you. Grant me this request, and I swear never again to disturb your reign, or to oppose your will."—When Kiekobad read his father's letter, he was deeply affected, and wished immediately to go, unattended, to visit him; but the artful minister restrained the ardour of the prince's affection, by representing that it would be derogating from the dignity of the Emperor of Hindoostan to pay the first visit to an inferior prince, although that person was his father.

It was at length settled, that a suite of the Imperial tents should be pitched in the Plain of Oudē, between the two armies; and that the King of Bengal should there pay his respects to the Emperor seated on his throne. This arrangement being made, and the astrologers having determined on an auspicious hour, the son first proceeded to the tents, in great state, surrounded by his guards: after which the father crossed the river Sirve, and, when he came in sight of the throne, made his first obeisance; as he approached nearer, he made a second obeisance; and when arrived at the foot of the throne, was about to make the third; when the prince, being much affected by the humility of his father, burst into tears, and, rushing into his arms, continued to embrace him

SECT. III.

for a considerable time. After this affecting scene, the father attempted to hand his son to the throne; but the latter refused, and compelled his father to sit thereon, taking his place in a respectful manner below him. This meeting gave great satisfaction to all the well-disposed subjects; and for several days great rejoicings and illuminations were displayed, and alternate visits passed between the monarchs and the officers of both armies *.

The terms of peace were easily agreed on. Nasir Addeen was permitted to retain Bengal, and all its dependencies, as a distinct kingdom, on condition of not interfering with the
A. D. 1288. government of Dehly. These events occurred in the year 687.

Previous to separating, Nasir Addeen gave his son some salutary advice for the government of his dominions; and concluded by privately admonishing him to beware of his insidious minister, and to get rid of him the first favourable opportunity. Having then affectionately embraced him, they took leave of each other, and returned towards their respective capitals.

Nasir Addeen was much affected on this occasion; and told his friends, on returning to his own camp, that he feared he had on that day parted with his son and the empire of Hindoostan for ever. His fears were soon after realized; for
The Emperor Kiekobad assassinated, A. D. 1289. in the end of the following year, viz. 688, Kiekobad was assassinated, and the throne of Dehly usurped by Feroze, a chief of the tribe of Khulijy.

Sultan Nasir Addeen was permitted to retain the kingdom of Bengal, during the whole of the reign of Feroze,

* This affecting interview has been well described, in a beautiful Poem called the *Keran Assaedin*, or *Auspicious Conjunction*, by Amyr Khosrou of Dehly.

and the earlier part of that of the Emperor Alla, without molestation; but when that able, though cruel, monarch had attained the height of his power, Nasir Addeen, dreading his displeasure, voluntarily laid aside his umbrella and other insignia of royalty, and, professing himself a subject of the Court of Dehly; was permitted to retain in fief the district of Lucknowty (Gour), and the south-west part of Bengal. This event occurred about the year 699. SECT. III. Nasir Addeen resigns the Kingdom of Bengal. A. D. 1299.

The Emperor at the same time appointed a Chief, named Behadur Khan, to the government of the eastern districts of Bengal; hoping, by thus dividing that province into two governments, to render it more subservient to the Court of Dehly than it had hitherto proved. The capital of the new government was fixed at Sunergong†.

Behadur Khan retained his situation with humility during the remainder of the reign of Alla, but is said afterwards to have ruled with great tyranny.

When, in the year 717, the dissolute prince Mubarick Shah succeeded to the throne of Dehly, Behadur, despising the weakness of the Imperial councils, arrogated to himself independence; assuming the white umbrella, and ordering the coin to be stampt with his own name, changing the title of Behadur Khan to Behadur Shah. A. D. 1317.

In the year 724, the Emperor Tughlik, jealous of the assumed rank, and wearied by complaints of the oppressions and tyranny of Behadur Shah, marched from Dehly with a numerous army, and, on his arrival at Tirhoot, was met by Nasir Addeen, the deposed king of Bengal, who having presented the Emperor with many valuable jewels, was received A. D. 1324.

† See Note to p. 72.

SECT. III.

Re-appointed Governor of Lucknowty.

with great favour, permitted to use the insignia of royalty, and re-appointed to his government of Lucknowty, on condition of holding it in fief from the Court of Dehly. This agreement he faithfully complied with, and died in the year

A.D. 1325.

725, being forty-three solar years from his first accession to the throne of Bengal; over which country he may be said to have been the first regularly constituted Mohammedan monarch, having been crowned as such by his father, the Emperor Balin, and confirmed in the possession of his kingdom by his son, the acknowledged Emperor Kiekobad.

Behadur Shah, finding himself unable to oppose the Imperial arms, submitted to the clemency of the Emperor; and was pardoned, on condition of giving up the public treasure and elephants, and attending the Imperial stirrup to Dehly.

The Emperor then appointed Tatar, with the title of Bhiram Khan, to the government of Sunergong; and having subdued Tirhoot, formed it into a distinct government, to which he appointed Ahmed Khan, and then returned to Dehly.

## KUDDER KHAN.

A.D. 1325.

WHEN intelligence of the death of Nasir Addeen had reached Dehly, the Emperor Mohammed Shah, who had just then succeeded to the throne, appointed Kudder Khan to the government of Lucknowty, and confirmed Bhiram Khan in the government of Sunergong. These two persons are said to have ruled their respective territories, for fourteen years, with much equity and propriety.

A.D. 1338.

In the year 739, Bhiram Khan died at Sunergong, at a period when Mohammed Shah, having conquered great part

of the Dekkan, was busily occupied in transferring his capital from Dehly to Dowletabad *. This occasion presented a favourable opportunity to Fakher Addeen, the armour-bearer of Bhiram Khan, not only to assume the government of Sunergong without permission, but also to declare himself an independent monarch, assuming the title of Sultan Sekunder.

When intelligence of this event was carried to Court, the Emperor ordered Kudder Khan, the governor of Lucknowty, and the neighbouring Chiefs, to unite their armies, and expel the rebel. In obedience to the Imperial commands, Kudder Khan marched from Lucknowty, and, in a general engagement, defeated Fakher Addeen, who fled, and concealed himself in the forests. The Governor took possession of Sunergong; and after some time had elapsed, and the rainy season had set in, he allowed the subordinate Chiefs to return to their homes, and dispersed the greater number of his own troops, to collect the revenues. It happened that there was at this period a large sum of money in the treasury, which the Governor was preparing to forward to Dehly. Fakher Addeen having obtained intelligence of this circumstance, sent proposals to the portion of the army remaining with the Governor, that if they would kill their master, and join him, he would distribute the whole of the treasure amongst them. His emissaries were successful: the troops consented to the terms: they murdered the Governor; and then proceeded to join the rebel, who immediately advanced to Sunergong, and, having taken possession of the treasure, distributed it according to his promise. This event occurred either in the end of the year 740, or beginning of 741. A. D. 1340.

* See History of Hindoostan, A. D. 1338.

## SECT. IV.

## *Of the Independent Kings of Bengal.*

### FAKHER ADDEEN SULTAN SEKUNDER.

SECT. IV. FAKHER Addeen having, as we have stated in the preceding chapter, succeeded in regaining his authority, caused himself to be proclaimed Sovereign of Bengal; and ordered the coin to be stamped, and all public papers to be issued, in his name.

A. D. 1340-1. The throne of Dehly being at that period (A. H. 741) possessed by the weak Mohammed III. no effort was made to reduce the province to the Imperial authority; and as the power of the empire continued to decline, Bengal remained for many years afterwards an independent and distinct kingdom; on which account historians have considered Fakher Addeen as the first Mohammedan king of Bengal.

The new Sultan fixed his residence at Sunergong; and sent an army, under the command of his slave, Mukhliss Khan, to take possession of Lucknowty and the dependent districts: but in this expectation he was foiled; for Aly Mubarick, one of the officers of the deceased Governor, having collected some troops, opposed the invaders, and killed their leader. On this event, Aly Mubarick sent a petition to the Emperor,

stating his success against the rebel, and soliciting that he might be confirmed in the government; but without waiting for the sanction of the Emperor, he took the title of Ala Addeen, and, advancing against Fakher Addeen, in the year 743, took him prisoner, and caused him to be put to death. The reign of Fakher Addeen, if such it may be termed, was only two years and five months. SECT. IV. A.D. 1342-3.

Aly Mubarick was assassinated, at the expiration of a year and five months, by his foster brother, Ilyas Khaje, or Hajy Elias, who took possession of the kingdom.

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## ILYAS KHAJE SULTAN SHUMS ADDEEN BHENGARA.

*Ilyas assumes the government of Bengal—Invades the dominions of the Raja of Jagenagur—Offends the Emperor Ferose, who invades Bengal, and takes the city of Pundua—The Emperor long and unsuccessfully besieges Ilyas in the fort of Akdala—Ilyas obtains access to the Camp of the Emperor, in the disguise of a Fakier—Makes Peace with the Emperor, who afterwards acknowledges the independence of Bengal.*

After the assassination of Aly Mubarick, his murderer assumed the reins of government, under the lofty title of Shums Addeen; and being of a mild and generous disposition, he soon rendered himself popular, both with the army and his subjects, who, in his other good qualities, shortly forgot the mode by which he ascended the throne.

As soon as Ilyas found himself perfectly established in his authority, he invaded the dominions of the Raja of Jagenagur (Tippera), and compelled that prince to pay a great sum of money, and to give him a number of valuable elephants, with which he returned in triumph to his capital.

SECT. IV.

A. D. 1353.

For ten years Ilyas Khaje ruled Bengal with absolute authority, and without any molestation from the Court of Dehly; but in the end of the year 754, the Emperor Ferose, taking offence at his having made encroachments on the province of Benaras, invaded Bengal with a numerous army.

Ilyas, not finding himself able to oppose the Emperor in the field, placed his troops in different garrisons, and took post himself in the fort of Akdala*; leaving his son to defend the city of Pundua (near Maldah), which for some time past he had made his capital.

The Emperor advanced to a place now called Feroseporeabad, where he pitched his camp, and commenced the operations of the siege of Pundua.

The Emperor Ferose takes the city of Pundua,

The son of Ilyas, led away by the ardour of youth, ventured to march out of the city, and to engage the royal army; but he soon paid the forfeit of his temerity: his troops were defeated, and himself made prisoner; after which the city surrendered.

and invests the fortress of Akdala.

From Pundua the Emperor proceeded to Akdala, and invested that fortress; but the place being very strong, the Emperor, after besieging it for twenty-two days, found it requisite to change his ground of encampment: for this purpose, he proceeded, with a detachment, to reconnoitre a spot on the banks of the river. Ilyas, seeing this movement, concluded the royal army were retreating, and sallied from the fort with all his garrison; but being vigorously opposed, was, after some hours, obliged to retreat, with the

* Akdala is placed by Major Rennell, in his *Bengal Atlas*, at a short distance to the north of Dacca: it is not to be found in the common maps, nor have I met with any account of it.

loss of forty-four elephants which he had brought from Jagenagur, his umbrella, and other insignia of royalty. SECT. IV.

Ilyas, in disguise, enters the Emperor's Camp.

It is related, that, during the siege of Akdala, a celebrated Saint, named Raja Byabany, who resided in that vicinity, and to whom Ilyas was much devoted, died. Ilyas, wishing to pay the last duties to so revered a character, dressed himself as a Fakier, and, having come out of the fort, attended the funeral; after which he rode into the camp of the Emperor, to whom he made his obeisance; but, not being known, was allowed to depart, and returned in safety to his garrison. When the circumstance was related to his Majesty, he was very much vexed, though he could not help admiring the boldness of his adversary.

The siege having been protracted to a great length, and the rainy season, which in Bengal sets in with great violence and inundates the plains, drawing near, the Emperor found it requisite to make peace: he therefore, upon a promise from Ilyas of an annual tribute, and some trifling presents, released the prisoners taken at Pundua, and returned to Dehly.

A.D. 1354. In the year 755, Ilyas sent ambassadors, with very valuable presents, to the Emperor; by whom they were most graciously received, and afterwards dismissed with assurances of friendship.

The Emperor acknowledges the Independence of Bengal.

In 757, Ilyas, being still suspicious of the Emperor's intentions, sent other ambassadors to Dehly, who, after some negociation, concluded a permanent treaty of peace; by which the independence of Bengal was formally acknowledged, and the respective limits of each kingdom defined.

A.D. 1357. In the year 759, the King of Bengal sent a number of elephants, and other valuable presents, by his ambassador Tajaddeen, to the Emperor, who received the embassy in the

SECT. IV.

most gracious manner: and, in return, ordered Sief Addeen, a nobleman of distinction, to proceed, as his ambassador, to the Court of Bengal; and to take with him a number of choice Arabian and Tartar horses for the King.

The Imperial ambassador proceeded as far as Behar, where he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of the King of Bengal: he therefore waited in that city for further instructions; and, in consequence of orders received from his Court, he divided the horses amongst the Chiefs of Behar, and returned to his master.

Ilyas Khaje, under the title of Shums Addeen, ruled Bengal for sixteen years and five months, and died in the year
A. D. 1358. 760. Amongst a people who could overlook the step by which he mounted the throne, he was much respected and beloved. During his reign, the capital of Bengal was transferred from Gour to Pundua: and, as he is said to have founded the city of Hajypore, which has since given its name to a considerable district, it is probable that, previous to, or during his reign, the boundaries of Bengal were extended to the banks of the river Gunduk, including all North Behar.

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## SULTAN SEKUNDER SHAH.

*Sekunder Shah raised to the throne—The Kingdom again invaded by the Emperor Ferose, who besieges the Fort of Ahdala—The Emperor consents to a Peace, and retires—Sekunder builds a superb Mosque at Pundua—His son Ghyas Addeen excites the jealousy of his Step-mother, and engages in open rebellion—Sekunder mortally wounded.*

Sekunder Shah mounts the throne of Bengal.

THREE days after the death of Ilyas Khaje, the Chiefs placed on the throne his eldest son, Sekunder Shah, who

SECT. IV.

commenced his reign by a strict administration of justice, and minute attention to the welfare of his subjects.

As soon as the days of mourning were accomplished, the King prepared a splendid embassy, with valuable presents, to be sent to the Court of Delhy. But when the Emperor Ferose heard of the death of Ilyas Khaje, he judged it a favourable opportunity to recover the Imperial authority over Bengal: he therefore, early in the year 761, advanced with hostile intentions towards that province; and having proceeded as far as Zufferabad, cantoned his army in that place till the expiration of the rainy season. In the mean time, he sent an ambassador to Sekunder Shah, with offers of peace, provided he would acknowledge himself the vassal of the empire. To these humiliating terms the King would not agree; but sent five elephants, and some costly presents, as a peace-offering.

A. D. 1359.

As soon as the rains had subsided, the Emperor advanced with his army as far as Pundua; and Sekunder, following the prudent example of his father, took refuge in the strong fortress of Akdala. The Imperial army in a short time surrounded Akdala; but after a siege of some weeks, the Emperor, finding there was no probability of taking the place, consented to accept a present of forty-eight elephants and a large sum of money, and, on the promise of a future annual tribute, to withdraw from Bengal.

The Emperor Ferose again unsuccessfully invests Akdala.

From that period, till nearly the close of his life, Sekunder Shah enjoyed a happy and undisturbed reign; and not being of a warlike disposition, he cultivated the arts of peace. In the year 763, he commenced a superb mosque in the vicinity of Pundua: and judging from the vestiges which are still remaining, it must have cost an immense sum of money, and much labour and time.

Sekunder erects a superb Mosque at Pundua, A. D. 1361.

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Sekunder Shah married two wives. By the first he had seventeen children, and by the second only one son. This youth, who was named Ghyas Addeen, possessed a most amiable disposition, and surpassed all his brethren in learning and accomplishments: on this account, the first wife beheld him with the eye of envy, and did every thing in her power to injure him in the affection of his father. One day, whilst alone with the King, she said, in a melancholy but respectful tone, that she had "something to communicate to his Majesty; but, as she was sensible it would give him pain, and probably excite his anger, she should forbear mentioning it, unless he would first swear not to divulge it to any person." The curiosity of the King having been thus raised, he complied with her request, and commanded her to disclose the secret, though it should rend his heart. The treacherous woman replied: "Since it is your positive command, I shall obey; and however repugnant to my feelings, must inform your Majesty, that Ghyas Addeen not only plots against the life of my sons, but has even the audacity to talk of deposing his father.—Let me advise you, as your sincere friend, to avert the mischief he intends, either by sending him to prison, or, by depriving the pupils of his eyes of their visual powers, render him incapable of effecting his flagitious schemes." —It was with difficulty the King could restrain himself during this speech: but when finished, he said to her, "Treacherous and subtle woman! are you not ashamed thus to evince your ingratitude to Heaven, for having bestowed on you the blessing of a numerous family*, (many of whom are advanced to manhood, and are the pride of their parents,) thus to envy your

Ghyas Addeen, the son of Sekunder, excites the jealousy of his Step-mother.

* In the East, from the most ancient times, women have been held in high estimation who gave birth to a number of children.

partner in my bed the consolation of one only son, that thou seekest his destruction. Begone! I will not hear thee more." SECT. IV.

Although the King did not communicate the conversation he had held with his wife to Ghyas Addeen, the youth was suspicious of the machinations of his step-mother; and one day, under pretence of going to hunt, he made his escape to Sunergong, and engaged in open rebellion. He was shortly enabled to collect an army, at the head of which he advanced towards Pundua. The first day he encamped at Sunarcote, and on the second day at Gualpareh. The King having also advanced to meet the rebels, found them at this place. A general engagement ensued, in which, although Ghyas Addeen had given positive orders to his troops not to injure his father, the King was unintentionally mortally wounded: but as soon as the son was informed of this untoward event, he hastened to his father's presence, and, taking his head in his lap, shed tears of repentance, and humbly besought the old man's forgiveness. The King then opened his eyes, and said, "My business is finished; may your dominion be prosperous!" after which his soul took its flight to the other world.

Ghyas Addeen engages in open rebellion.

The King mortally wounded.

Sekunder Shah reigned somewhat more than nine years, and was killed in the year 769. A. D. 1367.

## SULTAN GHYAS ADDEEN.

*Ghyas Addeen ascends the Throne—Commands the eyes of his half-Brothers to be eradicated—His attention to the due administration of the Laws—Anecdote of his three favourite Concubines—and of the celebrated Poet* HAFIZ.

THE Prince, leaving some officers to attend the burial of his father, hastened to Pundua, where he immediately mounted

SECT. IV. A.D. 1367.

the throne. The first act of his government was to seize his half-brothers, whose eyes he ordered to be eradicated and sent to their mother.

After this cruel act of self-preservation (as it is considered by Oriental politicians), Ghyas Addeen is said to have ruled with great justice and moderation; in proof of which the following anecdote is related of him.—One day, while the King was amusing himself in the practice of archery, one of his arrows by chance wounded a boy, the son of a widow. The woman immediately repaired to the tribunal of the Cazy, Suraje-addeen, and demanded justice. The judge was confounded, and said to himself, "If I summon the King to my court, I shall run the risk of being disobeyed; and if I pass over his transgression, I shall be one day summoned before the court of God, to answer for my neglect of duty."—After much reflection, he ordered one of the officers to go and summon the King, to answer the complaint of the woman. The officer, dreading to enter abruptly the palace with such an order, considered on some means to get introduced into the presence of the King. At length he ascended the minaret of the mosque adjoining the palace, and at an improper hour called the people to prayers. The King hearing his voice, ordered some of his guards to bring before him the man who thus made a mockery of religion.

Anecdote of the Sultan's attention to the due administration of the Laws.

When the officer was introduced into the royal presence, he briefly related the circumstance, and concluded by summoning his Majesty to the Cazy's tribunal. The King instantly arose, and, concealing a short sword under his garment, went before the Cazy; who, far from paying him any mark of respect, said to him with a tone of authority, "You

have wounded the son of this poor widow; you must therefore immediately make her an adequate compensation, or suffer the sentence of the law." The King made a bow, and, turning to the woman, gave her such a sum of money as satisfied her: after which he said, "Worthy judge, the complainant has forgiven me." The Cazy asked the woman if such was the fact, and if she was satisfied: to which the woman having assented, was dismissed. The Cazy then came down from his tribunal, and made his obeisance to the King; who, drawing the sword from beneath his garment, said, "Cazy, in obedience to your commands, as the expounder of the Sacred law, I came instantly to your tribunal; but if I had found that you deviated in the smallest degree from its ordinances, I swear that with this sword I would have taken off your head! I return thanks to God that matters have thus happily terminated, and that I have in my dominions a judge who acknowledges no authority superior to the law."—The Judge, taking up the scourge, said, "I also swear, by the Almighty God, that if you had not complied with the injunctions of the law, this scourge should have made your back black and blue! It has been a day of trial for us both."—The King was much pleased, and handsomely rewarded the upright judge.

Ghyas Addeen was of a gay and convivial disposition; but, at one period of his reign, having for some time laboured under a severe illness, he despaired of life, and therefore made his will. In it he directed that three of his favourite concubines, whose names were The *Cypress*, The *Rose*, and The *Tulip*, should wash his body after his decease. The King soon after recovered; but the other women of the Seraglio, envious of the Favourites, conferred on these ladies the opprobrious title

SECT. IV. of *Ghossaly* (Washers of the dead); in consequence of which the Favourites complained to the King, who, after musing for some time, uttered the following extemporary hemistich:

"Cup-bearer! let us sing the praises of the Cypress, the Rose, and the Tulip——"

but, after several attempts, he could not finish the verse; nor could any of the Poets of his Court write an Ode on the subject to his satisfaction. He therefore wrote the hemistich, and sent it, accompanied with a valuable present, by the hands of a special messenger, to the celebrated *Hāfiz* of *Shiraz* in Persia. The messenger was also authorized to offer the Poet any terms that might induce him to proceed and reside at the Court of Bengal. It is said, that, as soon as the messenger arrived in Shiraz, the Poet, without having been informed of any of the circumstances, but as if by inspiration, spoke, extemporary, the other hemistich;—the sense of which is,

Of the celebrated Poet Hafiz.

"Let these joyful tidings be carried to the three charming Ghossalehs."

After which he finished the Ode, still to be found in his Diwan, each verse of which terminates with the words, "*My ruvud:*" and in the last verse, he says,

"Hāfiz! why conceal the desire that possesses you, of visiting Sultan Ghyas Addeen: it is your business to complain of the distance that separates you."

But, as Hāfiz was indifferent to all worldly pursuits, and was besides afraid of undertaking so long a voyage, he declined the King's generous offer*.

Ghyas Addeen was a fellow-student of the celebrated saint

* See the Memoir of Hāfiz in p. 64 of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library.*

Cuttub al Aalum: they both studied theology under Hamid-addeen, the hermit of Nagore (Birbhoom). He reigned with much reputation six years and some months, and died in the year 775. A. D. 1373.

## SIEF ADDEEN SULTAN ASSULATEEN.

When the soul of Ghyas Addeen had taken its flight to the other world, the nobles placed his son, Sief Addeen, on the throne, with the lofty title of King of Kings. This prince was of a generous, courageous, and humane disposition: he disturbed not the quiet of his neighbours by his ambition, but ruled Bengal peaceably and unmolested for ten years, and died in the year 785. A. D. 1383.

## SHUMS ADDEEN II.

On the death of Sultan Assulateen, the nobles raised to the throne his adopted son, a youth of very inferior talents, who took the title of Shums Addeen the Second. For little more than two years he enjoyed a tranquil reign; but, at the expiration of that period, Kanis, the Zemindar of Bhetourieh, rebelled against him; and the youth being unsupported by the Mohammedan chiefs, was defeated, and lost his life, in the year 787. A. D. 1385.

## RAJA KANIS.

Immediately after the above-mentioned event, the Zemindar, having assumed the title of Raja, advanced to Pundua, where he was greeted by the Hindoos as the Restorer of their Religion, and Sovereign of Bengal; but after being seated on the throne, he found that the Mohammedans in his dominions

SECT. IV. were so numerous, and so much superior in bravery to his natural subjects, that he judged it requisite to treat them with mildness and affability: he therefore allowed many of the Afghan chiefs to retain their estates, and granted pensions to the learned and devout of that religion. By these means he enjoyed a quiet and peaceable reign of seven years, and died
A.D. 1392. in the year 794.

Raja Kanis had so well ingratiated himself with the Mohammedans, that, after his death, they claimed him as one of the *Faithful*, and disputed with the Hindoos whether his body should be buried according to their rites, or be burned on the funeral pile.

During the reign of Raja Kanis, the city of Pundua was much extended and celebrated in the East, and the temples of idolatry again raised their heads.

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## CHIETMUL SULTAN JELAL ADDEEN.

Some historians have related, that during the life-time of Raja Kanis, his eldest son, named Chietmul, whilst a boy, was deprived of his *cast* by the celebrated Mohammedan hermit or saint, named Cuttub ul Aalum, throwing the betle-leaf which he had chewed into the child's mouth, and bestowing on him the title of Jelal Addeen (Glory of Religion). Other writers have affirmed, that he was converted after his succession to the throne: but the probability is, that he was the offspring of a Mohammedan concubine; and being the eldest or only son of the Raja, the Hindoos had acquiesced in his elevation to the throne, in order to prevent the evils attending a disputed succession; in which success would have been doubtful, as

the prince would certainly have been aided by all the Mohammedans, whose numbers and bravery were very formidable.

Whatever may have been the cause of the prince's abandoning the idolatry of the Hindoos, he proved himself a zealous disciple of the Mussulman faith; for having invited the celebrated Shaikh Zahed from Sunergong, he consulted him on all his spiritual affairs, and resigned his conscience to his direction.

Jelal Addeen removed again the seat of government from Pundua to Gour, and expended large sums of money in improving that city. The mosque, baths, reservoir, and caravanserai, distinguished by the name of Jelally*, were all constructed by him. This prince ruled with great equity and justice; and, after an undisturbed reign of eighteen years, died at Gour, in the year 812. A. D. 1409.

To persons unacquainted with the history of India, it may appear extraordinary, that the Sovereigns of Bengal should have remained for so many years undisturbed in their possession of that country; but upon a reference to the History of Hindoostan, it will be discovered that during the period above mentioned the empire of Dehly was torn to pieces by an ambitious aristocracy, and that the Emperor retained little more than the name. It was in such a state of affairs that the celebrated Tartar conqueror, Timour, or Tamerlane, in the year 801; invaded India†; and it is rather surprising that he should have met with any opposition, than that he A. D. 1398.

* Charles Wilkins, LL. D. Librarian to the East-India Company, is about to publish an elegant Set of Engravings of the Ruins of Gour; which will evince the former grandeur of that ancient city, and form a valuable accompaniment to this work.

† See Dow's History, commencement of Vol. II.

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should so easily have defeated the weak Mohammed the Third, and his pusillanimous Vizier.

The following extract from that History will fully elucidate the subject:—"During the misfortunes and confusion of the empire, the Subahs (Governors) had rendered themselves independent in their governments. Guzerat was seized upon by Azim; Malwa by Dilawer; Kinnouge, Oude, Kurrah, and Joanpore, by Khoja Jehan (commonly called King of the East); Lahore, Debalpore, and Moultan, by Khizer; Samana by Ghalib; Biana by Shums; Mohaba by Mohammed (the son of Mallik and grandson of the Emperor Ferose); and so on with regard to the other provinces: the Governors asserting their own independence, and styling themselves (Mulook) Kings."

## AHMED SHAH.

*Ahmed Shah succeeds to the throne—His territory invaded by Sultan Ibrahim of Joanpore—Solicits the protection of the Court of Herat—Extract from Shah Rookh's Letter, prohibiting Sultan Ibrahim from molesting the King of Bengal—The Tartar Monarch sends an Ambassador to the Court of Gour, who is afterwards shipwrecked on the Coast of Malibar.*

A.D. 1409. THE oldest of Jelal Addeen's sons succeeded, in the year 812, to the throne, without any opposition. He walked in the footsteps of his father, and administered justice to his subjects with impartiality; insomuch that the followers of Mohammed and the worshippers of idols vied in their attachment to his person.

During the reign of this prince, Sultan Ibrahim of

Joanpore* invaded Bengal with a numerous army, and, after plundering several of the districts, carried away many of the inhabitants as slaves. Ahmed Shah finding himself unable to contend with so formidable an adversary, whose power, in fact, exceeded that of the feeble representative of monarchy at Dehly, sent an ambassador to Shah Rookh, the son of Timour, who, although residing at Herat (in Persia), was considered as the Emperor of Hindoostan, to solicit his protection and interference.

The ambassador was received by the Tartar monarch with much honour; and on his taking leave, was accompanied by Abdul Kereem Hajy, who was furnished with a letter to Sultan Ibrahim, threatening him with the most exemplary vengeance if he did not immediately release all the captives, and peremptorily prohibiting him from ever again molesting the King of Bengal.

Sultan Ibrahim received the letter with much respect; and whether from dread of Shah Rookh's vengeance, or being constantly occupied by his contests with the neighbouring Chiefs, never afterwards invaded Bengal.—As the Letter is a curious specimen of the pompous style of the East, it is here subjoined.

*Extract of the Emperor* SHAH ROOKH'S *Letter to Sultan* IBRAHIM SHEREKY *of Joanpore.*

"As soon as this mandate (to which the whole world is "subject, and the universe obedient) shall arrive, in the space "of one day, collect all the *Mohammedan* captives, and other "persons belonging to that country (Bengal); and having

* The Court of Joanpore, during the forty years' reign of Sultan Ibrahim, far eclipsed that of Dehly, and was the resort of all the learned men of the East.

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" delivered them over to their respective lords, procure a cer-
" tificate of the fact, signed and sealed by the Cazies: and send
" it immediately to the foot of the Imperial throne. And be
" assured, that if you use any delay, or are in the smallest
" degree neglectful of this order, We will issue our Imperial
" mandate to our most illustrious son Sultan Mahmood, King
" of Cabul, and to our Governors of Khotelan, of Ghiznē, Kan-
" dahar, and Gurmseir, to proceed (to India), and so severely
" punish you, that it shall serve as an example for others. If
" this shall not be sufficient, We will issue our orders to our
" General, Ferose Shah, to march with the armies of Khorassan,
" and inflict vengeance on you. And if this shall not suffice,
" We will send our mandate to our most noble son Shums
" Addeen Mohammed, to advance with the troops of Arhung,
" Pyrai, Kund-Diz, and Bakelan, to chastise you. If this shall
" have no effect, We will direct our brave and victorious son
" Bayestegur Behadur to march with the forces of Babul, Sary,
" Mazinderan, Tubberistan, Gorickē, and Jilan; and thus render
" you sensible of your crimes and impotence. But if you still
" continue to persevere in your atrocious conduct, We will
" command our august son Sultan Ibrahim to move with the
" armies of Irac, Azerbijan, Bagdad, and the districts of Arabia,
" to separate your soul from its body. And if they shall not be
" able to effect this our purpose, We will signify our Royal will
" to our most beloved and victorious son Ulug Beg Goorgan,
" to proceed with all the squadrons of Toorkistan, and either tear
" you to pieces, or hang up your body to be eaten by the crows*."

*, *N.B.* The Letter is taken from Ferishtah; but the circumstances of the Embassy are confirmed in the *Mutla Assaedine*, a very elegant Persian History of Shah Rookh, presented to the East-India Company by General Kirkpatrick.

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In return for this compliment, the Tartar monarch despatched Molana Abdul Reheem as his ambassador to the Court of Gour. After a residence of some months in Bengal, the ambassador having been joined by Abdul Kereem Hajy from Joanpore, proceeded by sea towards Ormuz; but on their arrival on the coast of Malibar, they were shipwrecked in the vicinity of Calicut, where they were hospitably received and entertained by the Zamorin, who, in consequence of their representation of the magnificence and power of Shah Rookh, was induced to send an envoy along with them to the Court of Herat.

It was to repay this compliment, that Shah Rookh sent, in the year of the Hejira 846, the celebrated Malolana Abdul Rezac to Calicut, whence he was invited to Bijenagur; of which kingdom he has given a minute and entertaining account in the *Mutlia Assacdinat*. A. D. 1442.

Nothing more interesting occurs in the history of the reign of Ahmed Shah, which lasted eighteen years, and was terminated by his death in the year 830. A. D. 1426.

## NASIR SHAH.

AHMED Shah not having left any son to inherit his dominions, one of his slaves, named Nasir, seized upon the government; but the other Chiefs, disdaining to submit to his authority, at the end of eight days put him to death, and A. D. 1426. raised to the throne a youth who was a descendant of Ilyas

† An interesting account of this Embassy may be found in the *Annual Asiatic Register* of 1800.

SECT. IV. Khaje Sultan Shums Addeen Bhengara*, on whom they
A. D. 1426-7. conferred the title of Nasir Shah.

On the unexpected elevation of this prince to the sovereignty, all the adherents of the Bhengara family, and many other zealous Mohammedans, who during the reigns of the Hindoo dynasty had lived in retirement, now assembled round the throne, and gave to it such stability, that Nasir Shah enjoyed a long and undisturbed reign.

This prince constructed the fortifications round the City of Gour; the gates of which are still in existence; and the foundations have been traced over its whole circumference†.

A. D. 1457-8. Nasir Shah departed this life in the year 862.

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## BARBEK SHAH.

NASIR Shah was succeeded by his son Barbek Shah, who was esteemed a man of great abilities. He was the first prince in Hindoostan who introduced Abyssinian and negro slaves into his service. He at one period had eight thousand of them, well mounted and armed, in his army: and having by experience found them faithful and attached to him, he promoted several of them to high rank and important situations. His example was afterwards imitated by the sovereigns of Guzerat and the Dekkan; and many of those people, who, if they had fallen

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* See p. 83.

† A correct Plan of the City is deposited in the East-India House; and will probably be given to the public by Dr. Wilkins, along with the Engravings of the Ruins of Gour, mentioned in p. 95.

into the hands of Europeans, would have been condemned to servile drudgery, became the associates of Princes and Governors of provinces. SECT. IV.

Barbek Shah died in 879, after a prosperous reign of seventeen years; and was succeeded by his eldest son, Yusuf Shah. A. D. 1474.

## YUSUF SHAH.

As soon as this prince had taken possession of the throne, he established rules for the strict administration of justice throughout his dominions: and having summoned the judges and municipal officers to attend him, he informed them that the laws were to be administered with impartiality to the poor and to the rich, to the weak and to the powerful; and if he discovered any of them swayed in their decisions, either by interest or affection, he would punish them most severely. He then ordered them to send him a weekly report of their proceedings; and being himself very learned, and well informed in the law, he frequently decided on points which had perplexed the most experienced Cazies and Moofties. After having reigned with much reputation for seven years and six months, he departed this life in the year 887. A. D. 1482.

Yusuf Shah dying without children, the nobles raised to the throne a youth of the royal family, named Sekunder Shah; but after two months, finding him incapable of governing, they deposed him, and placed on the throne his uncle, Futteh Shah.

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A. D. 1472-3.

## FUTTEH SHAH.

THIS prince is said to have been possessed of a good natural understanding, which he much improved by study: and finding that the Abyssinian slaves, and the eunuchs of the palace, during the reigns of his predecessors, had gained too much influence, and had been guilty of improper practices, he punished some of them severely, and reduced them all to a level with his other servants and subjects. This conduct of the King's gave much offence to the eunuchs; they seduced the corps of guards called Paiks, (infantry, armed with swords and spears,) 5000 of whom daily mounted guard over the palace; and one night murdered their master in the Seraglio, or female apartments, which their confidential situation in the interior of the palace enabled them to effect without immediate discovery.

It was the custom of the Court of Bengal, that the old guard should wait till the King mounted the throne in the morning; and after having saluted his Majesty, to march off, and give place to the new guard. The morning after the murder, the Paiks waited some time for the approach of the King; and either were, or pretended to be, much surprised to see the chief eunuch, Bareek, ascend the throne, dressed in the royal robes.

It happened at this period that both the Vizier, Khan Jehan, and Mulk Andiel, the Abyssinian Commander-in-chief, were detached from the capital, to wage war against some refractory Rajas; and there were no troops left in the city but the Paiks; the commanders of whom having been previously bribed, the

eunuch was proclaimed without opposition, under the title of Sultan Shahzadeh. This event happened in the year 896. SECT. IV. A. D. 1490-1.

The reign of Futteh Shah was seven years and six months.

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## SULTAN SHAHZADEH.

*Shahzadeh promotes the Eunuchs—Employs the former Vizier, and Mulk Andiel the Commander-in-chief, under an oath of fidelity—His servants corrupted by the latter, who, with his companions, gains admittance by night into the private apartments, and, after much resistance, murders the Usurper—The Widow of Futteh Shah declines the proposal to elevate her infant Son to the throne—Mulk Andiel unanimously elected sovereign.*

SULTAN Shahzadeh immediately promoted a number of his companions, the eunuchs, to the most important commands; and filled all the offices with persons of the lowest description; supposing that they would be more attached to his government than the nobility or persons of good family. But not thinking himself sufficiently established in his authority without the concurrence of Khan Jehan the Vizier, and Mulk Andiel the Commander-in-chief, he offered to confirm them in their employments if they would take the oath of fealty to him: and these officers, thinking it would be better to temporize, and wait for a favourable opportunity of destroying him, than by opposing him openly, returned to Court, and were received with much apparent cordiality.

During many months, these officers conducted themselves with so much circumspection, that, although the eunuch had established a very severe police, and placed spies over their houses, he could receive no intelligence of their harbouring any evil intentions against him: he therefore admitted them

SECT. IV. A. D. 1491.

into the greatest degree of favour, and reposed entire confidence in them. This confidence was however misplaced; for Mulk Andiel, having gained over to his party one of his countrymen, an Abyssinian eunuch, who had charge of the sleeping apartments, was admitted one night into the palace with twenty of his companions; when the Sultan, having dressed himself in female attire, and put on all his jewels, had seated himself on the throne, and indulged freely in the pleasures of music and wine. At a late hour of the night, after the Sultan had fallen asleep in a state of inebriety, and as soon as the attendants retired, the black eunuch extinguished all the lights except one, and admitted Mulk Andiel into the room.

It appears, that when Mulk took the oath of allegiance, he had sworn that as long as the Sultan should fill the throne he would never be guilty of any aggression against him, but support and defend him: when therefore he saw the Sultan sitting on the throne, his conscience upbraided him with the treachery he was about to commit. He stood for some time, with his sword drawn, hesitating what to do: at length the Sultan, in a fit of intoxication, fell on the floor; and the mental reservation of the assassin being now satisfied, he struck him with his sword. The blow, however, only served to rouse the Sultan, who starting up, and being a very powerful man, seized Mulk Andiel in his arms, and threw him on the ground. In this situation, Mulk called to his companions to come to his assistance. Yugrish Khan, a Turk, and two Abyssinians, immediately entered: but during the struggle between the Sultan and Mulk Andiel, the light was extinguished, and Yugrish knew not whom to assist, or whom

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A. D. 1491.

he was to strike. At length, Mulk Andiel, who had fast hold of the eunuch's long hair, and would not let him escape, called out to strike without fear, as he was undermost, and was well shielded by the corpulence of his adversary. On this intelligence, Yugrish Khan gave the Sultan several cuts, which so hurt him, that he fell on the ground, and pretended to be dead.

Mulk Andiel, supposing he had effected his purpose, retired with his party: but after they were gone, the black eunuch, having entered the apartment with a light, and seeing the Sultan in that situation, called out, in counterfeited agony, that some traitor had cruelly murdered his lord and master. The Sultan, who, on the entrance of the eunuch, had imagined it was Mulk Andiel returned to finish his business, was much rejoiced to hear the voice of his supposed faithful servant; and, making him a signal to be quiet, narrated to him all the circumstances that had occurred; after which he desired him to go to certain officers, and to give them positive orders to proceed immediately to the house of Mulk Andiel, and bring with them his head.

The eunuch, having promised implicit obedience, went to Mulk Andiel, and informed him that he had left his design unaccomplished; and that if he did not finish it, his own existence would very shortly be terminated.

Mulk Andiel, seeing he had now no hopes of safety but in perpetrating the murder, returned to the Sultan's apartments, and in a few minutes finished the atrocious deed. He then sent for Khan Jehan the Vizier, and consulted with him what further was requisite to be done. The Vizier was of opinion that it would be proper to place on the throne the

SECT. IV. infant son of Futteh Shah (then only two years of age), and
A. D. 1491. that a person should be nominated to administer the affairs of government during his minority. Mulk Andiel having acquiesced in this proposal, he immediately summoned all the other chiefs; and on his obtaining their assent, they all repaired to the apartments of the widow of Futteh Shah, where, in a respectful manner, they informed her of their determination; and requested her to nominate a proper person to be the guardian of her child.

The widow, alarmed at the invidious situation in which the nomination of a regent might place her, and reflecting on the distant prospect of her son succeeding quietly to the throne in so unstable a government, replied, that, on the murder of her husband, she had made a vow to God, that whatever person revenged his death should have her suffrage to be King.

This sentiment was probably expected by the chiefs; and Mulk Andiel, although an Abyssinian slave, was unanimously elected to be their monarch.

The reign of the eunuch Sultan Shahzadeh was barely eight months.

## SULTAN FEROSE SHAH HEBSHY.

A. D. 1491. WHEN the Abyssinian, Mulk Andiel, was elected to the sovereignty of Bengal, he assumed the title of Ferose Shah, and governed his subjects with strict justice and munificent liberality.

As Mulk Andiel, during the long period that he had served in the armies of Barbek Shah and Futteh Shah, had frequently given proofs of his valour and skill in war, and was well

supported by a numerous body of his own countrymen, and beloved for his generosity by the common people and soldiery, none of the Afghan or Turkish chiefs dared to rebel against him.

The following anecdote of his liberality is thus related. On some public occasion, the King having ordered a Lac (100,000) of rupees to be distributed to the poor, the ministers thought he was too profuse of the public treasure, which might probably arise from his little knowledge of the value of money, or of the amount he had ordered: they therefore piled the money in one of the apartments through which he was to pass, in hopes that he would notice it, and be surprised at the quantity of silver. When the King entered the apartment, and saw the heap of money lying there, he asked what it was; and on being told it was the sum he had that morning ordered to be given to the poor, he said, "Is this all? it is too little: give them double the quantity." The ministers were astonished at his prodigality, but were obliged to conform to his wishes.

The remains of a mosque, a minaret, and a reservoir, which Ferose Shah constructed, are still to be seen at Gour.—He reigned nearly three years, and died in 899. A. D. 1494.

## MAHMOOD SHAH.

When Ferose Shah departed from this transitory world, the nobles raised to the throne his eldest son, with the title of Mahmood Shah; but the Vizier, Hebsh Khan, originally an Abyssinian slave, left to his master nothing but the name of King. This conduct gave much offence to the other

SECT. IV. Abyssinians; and, under pretence of relieving the prince from a galling yoke, one of them, named Siddee Budder Dewaneh, assassinated the Vizier: and having thus mounted the first stage of the ladder of ambition, he shortly after murdered the King, and ascended the throne.

The period of Mahmood Shah's nominal reign was one year.

Hajy Mohammed Candahary has stated, in his History, that Mahmood Shah was not an Abyssinian, but the infant son of Futteh Shah, whose pretensions his mother had resigned in favour of Mulk Andiel, as has been before related.

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## MUZUFFIR SHAH.

Siddee Budder Dewaneh mounted the throne in the year
A. D. 1495. 900, and assumed the title of Muzuffir Shah. He commenced his reign with the murder of several of the Turkish nobility. He afterwards marched his armies against some of the tributary Hindoo princes; and having seized them, put them to death, and plundered their estates. In short, there was no species of cruelty or oppression that this tyrant did not commit: till at
A. D. 1497-8. length, in the year 903, all the chiefs, headed by the Vizier, Syed Hussein Sherief of Mecca, rebelled against him, and besieged him in his capital; but Muzuffir Shah, having in his service a corps of 5000 well-mounted Abyssinians, and 25,000 Afghan and Bengal troops, defended the city of Gour for four months with great resolution: and whenever he made prisoners of any of the rebels, he took pleasure in beheading them himself. The number of persons he is said to have put to death in this manner is incredible.

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At length, thinking himself able to contend with his adversaries in the field, he marched out of the city and engaged them. A bloody battle ensued, in which Muzuffir Shah lost his life, and the plains of Gour were strewed with 20,000 of the slain. The reign of this oppressor of the human race was three years and five months.

Such is the account of this event given by Hajy Mohammed Candahary, in his History; but Nizam Addeen states, that Muzuffir Shah, being universally detested by the nobles, the Vizier, Syed Hussein, entered into a conspiracy with them; and having gained over to their party the Commandant of the corps of Paiks, sixteen of them entered the apartment of the tyrant at night, and put him to death without any opposition. One of the mosques still standing at Gour was built by this impious tyrant.

## SULTAN ALA ADDEEN HUSSEIN SHAH SHERIEF MECCA.

*Ala Addeen elevated to the throne—His origin—Permits Gour to be plundered by his own army—Regulates the troops, and firmly establishes his government—Successfully invades the Kingdom of Assam—Attempts the conquest of Kamroop and adjoining countries—The Rajas retire to their mountain-fastnesses till the rainy season, when the Sultan's forces are obliged to retire with immense loss—The Sultan applies himself to the improvement of his Kingdom—Erects many public buildings, and encourages the Learned and Devout—The King of Joanpore seeks refuge at the Court of Bengal—The Emperor Sekunder subdues Behar, and prepares for the invasion of Bengal—Ala Addeen sends his son with terms of Peace, and a treaty is concluded—Dies, after a peaceable reign of twenty-four years.*

On the death of the Abyssinian, Muzuffir Shah, the chiefs A. D. 1489.
elected to the throne another foreigner, but of a more noble

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race. This person was a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, and had quitted the sandy deserts of Arabia to improve his fortune in the fertile region of Bengal. His illustrious descent first introduced him into the Court of Gour, where his superior abilities soon raised him to the high dignity of first subject of the empire. The oppressions and brutal temper of Muzuffir made him a rebel, and fortune made him a king.

As Syed Hussein, during the period that he acted as prime-minister to his predecessor, had given many proofs of his abilities and general benevolence, all the chiefs, of whatever tribe, concurred in opinion that he was the most worthy person to fill the throne; and he, in return, granted them the extraordinary privilege of plundering the city of Gour for a prescribed period*.

On his elevation to the throne, he is said to have taken the title of Ala Addeen Sherief Mecca: but the author of the *Ryaz Assulateen* states, that, in all the inscriptions on the monuments about Gour, he is styled Hussein Shah; and supposes that his father, or some of his ancestors, might have been Sherief of Mecca; and that the son, through family pride, may have used the title improperly. It is however certain, that, on his first arrival in Bengal, he was for some time in a very humble situation; but the Cazy of Chandpore, having been informed of his illustrious descent, gave him his daughter in marriage, and introduced him into the service of Muzuffir Shah.

The privilege of plundering the city having been carried

* The rich inhabitants of Gour being principally Hindoos, the pious Syed thought they were fair plunder, although his own subjects. This may be considered as a specimen of a bigoted Mohammedan government.

further than the Syed intended, he ordered the soldiery, after some days, to desist; but finding his orders disobeyed, he caused twelve thousand of them to be put to death, and seized all the fruits of their rapine.

At that period it was customary, amongst the rich inhabitants of Bengal, to have a number of golden dishes on their tables; and the degree of respect due to any person was estimated by the quantity of plate he displayed upon public occasions: on which account, the quantity of gold and silver regorged by the plunderers is said to have been immense.

One of the first acts of Ala Addeen's government was to reduce the corps of Paiks †, who had so frequently assisted in dethroning their Sovereigns: after which he raised a regiment, denominated *Serhungs*, to mount guard over his person. He also dismissed the whole of the Abyssinian troops: and they, having lost their reputation in Hindoostan by their frequent acts of disloyalty and treachery, could not obtain service either at Joanpore or Dehly, and were therefore compelled to proceed to Guzerat and the Dekkan, where they procured employment, and afterwards became very conspicuous, under the appellation of Siddees ‡.

After these arbitrary but salutary acts, Ala Addeen ruled with strict justice; but, for the better security of his person, he made the Fort of Akdala the seat of his residence. Being himself of noble descent, he encouraged and patronised persons

† A number of the descendants of these Paiks were settled in the Midnapore district; and had lands assigned to them, on condition of defending the country against all invaders and marauders: but the English Government not requiring their services, and wishing to put them on a footing with their other subjects, they were much dissatisfied for a considerable period, and caused frequent disturbances between the years 1790 and 1800.

‡ See Orme's *Historical Fragments*, Index.

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of good family, and reduced some of the upstarts of the late reigns to their original nothingness. Having by these means introduced a number of Syeds, Moghuls, and Afghans into his service, his government became firmly established; and the tributary Rajas, as far as Orissa, paid implicit obedience to his commands; nor was there a single rebellion or insurrection during his reign.

The Sultan, after regulating his own kingdom, began to aspire to foreign conquests. He, in consequence, assembled a numerous army, and invaded the kingdom of Assam, situated to the north-east of Bengal. Having overrun that country, and acquired much plunder, he turned his arms against the Rajas of Kamroop, and the countries lying at the foot of the northern mountains, distinguished by the general name of Turryana; and, on taking possession of many of their forts, established garrisons therein: after which, having appointed his son to be Governor of the conquered districts, he returned to his capital.

Kamroop again unsuccessfully invaded.

It has ever been the systematic policy of the princes of Turryana to relinquish the level country to the invaders, and retire with their families and effects to fastnesses in the mountains, until the setting in of the rains; when, the roads being rendered impassable for an army by inundation and torrents from the hills, they cut off all supplies of provisions, and either starve their opponents into a capitulation, or force them to retreat under the greatest disadvantages.

This system was now put in practice; and the son of the Sultan was compelled to make a humiliating retreat, with the loss of half his army.

After this unsuccessful attempt, the Sultan built an extensive

fort on the banks of the Bettiah River (the Gunduk), to defend his own territories from invasion; and occupied himself in promoting the population of his country, and in improving the situation of his subjects. He built public mosques and hospitals in every district, and settled pensions on the learned and devout. Amongst the numerous instances of his piety, he settled a grant of lands for the support of the Tomb, College, and Hospital of the celebrated saint Kuttub al Aalum, which are continued to this day; and every year made a pilgrimage on foot, from Akdala to Pundua, to visit the holy shrine of that saint. SECT. IV.

In the early part of this reign, Shah Hussein, king of Joanpore, who for many years contended for the empire of Hindoostan with Sultan Beloli*, having suffered reiterated defeats, fled before the arms of Sekunder, and sought protection in Bengal. He was most hospitably and honourably received by Ala Addeen, who assigned him a pension and establishment suitable to his former dignity, which were continued to him during his life. The tomb of this prince is still in good preservation in the vicinity of Gour.

The Emperor Sekunder having, in the year 905, subdued the province of Behar, which for several years had been dependent on Joanpore, and was the last of the possessions of the Kings of the East, advanced the banners of hostility against Bengal; but on his arrival at Tuglickpore (or Cutlickpore) in Behar, he was informed that the Prince Daniel, son of Ala Addeen, was on the way to meet him, with overtures of amity from his father. The Emperor, being also desirous of peace, A.D. 1499.

* See *History of Hindoostan*, A.D. 1478.

SECT. IV. A.D. 1499. that he might be enabled to return to Dehly, halted at this place, and sent forward two noblemen to meet and confer with the prince.

The plenipotentiaries met in the town of Bar; and in a few days concluded a treaty, the terms of which were, that the Emperor should retain Behar, Tirhoot, Sircar Sarun, and all the other countries he had subdued, provided he did not invade Bengal; and that neither party should support, or in any manner assist, the enemies of the other. This treaty having been ratified by both monarchs, the Emperor returned towards Dehly. After this event, Ala Addeen enjoyed a peaceable and happy reign, beloved by his subjects, and respected A.D. 1520. by his neighbours; and died at Gour in the year 927, having reigned twenty-four years.

## NUSSERIT SHAH, *commonly called* NASEEB SHAH.

*Nusserit Shah elected to the throne—Humane conduct to his Brothers—Invades Tirhoot and Hajypore—Gives protection to Mahmood Lody and other Afghan Chiefs—Marries the Daughter of the late Sultan Ibrahim—Excites the jealousy of the Moghul Emperor Baber—Mahmood, and the Afghan Chiefs, defeated by Baber—On the death of the Moghul Emperor, the Afghan Chiefs recover several provinces—Nusserit assassinated—Buildings erected by him at Gour.*

A.D. 1521. THE deceased King left eighteen sons; the eldest of whom, Nusserit Shah, being a person of acknowledged bravery and superior talents, was chosen by the Chiefs to be their monarch. As a proof of the benevolence of his disposition, it is stated, that instead of confining his brethren, or depriving them of their sight, as is the common custom of the East, he treated them

with the greatest affection, and doubled the allowances granted them by their father. SECT. IV.

The distracted state of the Court of Dehly, occasioned by the approach of the Moghuls, under the celebrated Baber, presenting a favourable opportunity of recovering some of the districts which had formerly belonged to Bengal, Nusserit Shah broke the treaty which his father had contracted with the Emperor Sekunder; and having invaded Tirhoot, and put the Raja to death, he appointed his son-in-law, Ala Addeen, to the government. He then proceeded against Hajypore; and having subdued it, gave it in charge to another son-in-law, named Mukhdoom Aalum: after which he crossed the Ganges, and took possession of the fort and district of Mongeir, which he entrusted to one of his best generals, named Cuttub Khan.

When, in the year 932, the Emperor Baber defeated and slew Sultan Ibrahim, and the empire of Hindoostan was transferred from the Afghan to the Moghul dynasty*, many of the chiefs of the former nation sought employment and protection in Bengal: even Mahmood Lody, the brother of Sultan Ibrahim, was compelled to seek refuge at the Court of Gour. All these persons were most hospitably received, and had pensions assigned them, suitable to their rank and former situation. A. D. 1526.

Mahmood having brought with him one of the daughters of the late Emperor, the King took her in marriage, and made great rejoicings on the occasion. This circumstance, added to the protection afforded to the Afghan chiefs, excited the jealousy of the Moghul Emperor, Baber, who, in the year 935, sent an army, under the command of his relation Askary, to A. D. 1528-9.

* See *History of Hindoostan*, A. D. 1525-6.

SECT. IV. invade Bengal; but Nusserit Shah, having obtained timely intelligence of his intentions, sent an ambassador with costly presents, to deprecate the Imperial wrath.

A.D. 1529-30. Early in the year 936, Mahmood (brother of Ibrahim), being previously joined by a number of the Afghan chiefs, made another attempt to recover his paternal dominions, and advanced as far as Hideri on the banks of the Ganges.

The Emperor Baber having about the same time marched from Agra, the contending armies met at Hideri; but such was the dread the Afghans had of Baber's prowess, and the formidable charge of the Moghul cavalry, that, as soon as the Emperor's advanced guard crossed the river, they shamefully took to flight, and never halted till they had re-crossed the river Soane. Mahmood, dispirited by his defeat, retreated to Bengal; and Nusserit, alarmed at the approach of the Moghuls, sent an ambassador to implore the Emperor's mercy.

As the rainy season was approaching, and the affairs of the upper provinces required the presence of Baber, who had advanced as far as the town of Mooneer (at the mouth of the Soane), he graciously condescended to make peace, on condition that the Afghans should remain quiet, and that the King of Bengal should no longer give any assistance to Mahmood. These terms having been ratified by both monarchs, the Emperor returned to Agra, where he died in the month of

A.D. 1530-1. Jummad of the following year, A. H. 937.

The death of Baber served as a signal to rouse the Afghan chiefs once more to attempt the recovery of the empire. Mahmood, the son of Diria Lohani, took possession of Behar; and Mahmood, the brother of the Emperor Ibrahim, having collected an army of his countrymen, first defeated Joneid Burlass

the Moghul governor of Joanpore, and then took possession of that province. Sultan Behadur of Guzerat also advanced at the head of a large force, and took the fort of Mindu, whence he detached an army of 40,000 men to plunder the country, even to the vicinity of Agra, then the residence of the new Emperor Homayon. SECT. IV.

Although the King of Bengal, from the pusillanimity of his disposition, did not take an active part in these scenes, yet, regardless of his treaty with the Emperor Baber, he gave every assistance in his power to Mahmood; and in the year 939 sent Mulk Murjan, as his ambassador, to form a treaty of alliance with Sultan Behadur of Guzerat. A. D. 1532-3.

Notwithstanding Nusserit Shah was by descent a Syed (descendant of Mohammed), he was naturally of a cruel disposition; and was frequently guilty of such acts of tyranny, as not only to give disgust to his subjects, but to render him hateful to his private servants. At length, having gone one day to pay his devotions at the tomb of his father in the city of Gour, and one of the eunuchs having given him some offence, he threatened severely to punish the fellow on his return to the palace; but the other eunuchs, tired out with his brutal behaviour, espoused the cause of their companion, and, before the king could carry his threats into execution, they put a period to his existence.

Nusserit Shah reigned thirteen years, and was assassinated in the year 940. Some historians have assigned him a reign of sixteen years, and say his death occurred in 943; but this statement does not agree with the account of subsequent transactions. Of the buildings erected by him in the city of Gour, there are still two remaining, with the inscriptions A. D. 1533-4.

SECT. IV. perfect; viz. the Golden Mosque, called, in the Hindoostany language, *Soona Musjid*, finished in 932; and the *Kuddum Roosul* (Footstep of the Prophet), erected in 939.

Ferishtah, in his History of Bengal, styles this prince Nuseeb Shah; though, in his History of Dehly, he gives him his proper name. This circumstance induced the author of the *Ryaz Assulateen* to examine several of the inscriptions in the vicinity of Gour; from which he ascertained, that the title at full length was Sultan Nusserit Shah, ben Sultan Ala Addeen, Hussein Shah. The tomb of the saint Hezerut Mukhdoom, at Saad-ullapore*, was also erected by him, and bears the same inscription.

After Nusserit Shah had drunk the sherbet of death, the nobles raised to the throne of Bengal his son Ferose Shah; but at the end of three months the youth was murdered by his uncle, Mahmood Shah, who usurped the government.

## MAHMOOD SHAH

A.D. 1533-4 WAS one of the eighteen sons of Sultan Ala Addeen; and during the whole reign of the late King, conducted himself in the most exemplary manner: but scarcely was his brother deposited in the tomb, when he entered into machinations against his nephew, and ceased not till he had imbrued his hands in murder. This flagitious conduct did not however pass unrevenged; for Mukhdoom Aalum, governor of Hajypore, raised the standards of rebellion, and united himself in

* There is still an annual assemblage of devotees held at this tomb, which is also attended by merchants and traders, and a regular fair thereby established.

the bonds of friendship with the celebrated Shere Khan, who afterwards became Emperor of Hindoostan, and who at that time was Regent of Behar.

Mahmood Shah, in order to punish Shere for the assistance afforded to the rebel, ordered Cuttub Khan, governor of Mongeir, to invade Behar. As the forces of Shere were inferior to those of Bengal, Cuttub Khan flattered himself with an easy conquest: he therefore rejected all overtures for peace, and made a spirited attack on the army of Behar. But Fortune did not favour his wishes: he was shortly pierced by an arrow, and fell from his elephant. On seeing this accident, his army fled; and the whole of his elephants, artillery, and baggage, became the plunder of his adversary.

This defeat was a severe disappointment to the King of Bengal: he however assembled a more numerous army, the command of which he entrusted to Ibrahim Khan, the son of the unfortunate General.

At this time, an event occurred which flattered the vanity of the King of Bengal, and gave him every reason to hope for success. Jellal, the young King of Behar, disgusted with the overbearing and insolent conduct of the Regent Shere, fled from Behar, attended by a number of his followers, and took refuge in the Bengal camp, whence he sent orders to all his adherents to afford no manner of assistance to Shere.

This event having much diminished the force of the Regent, he was obliged to shut himself in the fort of Behar; the fortifications of which were only ramparts composed of mud.

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† For the history of Shere Shah, see *Dow's Hindoostan*, vol. II. p. 166. The year inserted in the margin is erroneous.

SECT. IV. The Bengal army advanced, and surrounded the fort; but the Afghan troops of Shere defended the place with so much resolution, that, after a siege of several months, Ibrahim was obliged to apply to the King for a reinforcement. Previous however to its arrival, Shere, having made a sally from the fort, completely defeated the Bengalese, slew their General, and seized on all their artillery and baggage, compelling the young King Jellal to flee, and seek refuge at the Court of Gour.

A. D. 1535-6. This event occurred in the end of the year 942.

From this period may be dated the downfall of the Empire of Bengal; for in the following year, 943, Shere Khan, having acquired possession of the strong fortress of Chunar, rendered himself completely master of all Behar; after which he advanced with a numerous army towards Bengal. The natural strength of the passes of Terriagurry and Sicklygully delayed the fate of Mahmood for a short period; but Shere having surmounted these difficulties, the King was compelled to retreat to his capital.

Shere immediately invested Gour; but some important affairs requiring his presence at Behar, he left an army, under the command of his general, Khuas Khan, to carry on the blockade.

During this period, Mahmood sent various messengers to the Emperor Homayon, to implore his speedy assistance; but several months having elapsed without any appearance of the Moghul forces, and provisions becoming very scarce in the city, Mahmood Shah embarked on board a fast-rowing boat, and was conveyed to Hajypore.

The city soon after capitulated, and on the 13th of the

A. D. 1537. month *Fervurdy*, in the year 944, was taken possession of by

the Afghan forces, who plundered and put to death a number of the unoffending inhabitants*. SECT. IV. A. D. 1537-8.

The King was so closely pursued by a party of Shere's troops, that he was obliged to halt, and defend himself. He was soon wounded; but his friends covering his retreat, he was enabled to continue his flight, and arrived in the Moghul camp during the period that the Emperor Homayon was besieging the fort of Chunar.

Homayon, touched with the misfortunes of the royal fugitive, received him in the most gracious manner; and promised that, as soon as he had taken the fortress, he would proceed to Bengal, and reinstate him in his kingdom.

Early in the year 945, the Emperor, having succeeded in taking the fort of Chunar, advanced towards Bengal; and hearing that Shere Khan was busily employed in fortifying the strong passes of Terriagurhy and Sicklygully, the flanks of which are covered on one side by the rapid current of the Ganges, and on the other by lofty mountains, he sent forward a considerable force, under the command of Jehangire Cooly Beg, to clear the road; but this officer, upon his arrival at Terriagurhy, found that, in addition to formidable entrenchments, he had to contend with a numerous army of Afghans, commanded by Jellal, the son of Shere Khan. A. D. 1538-9.

Not dispirited by such difficulties, Jehangire made an attack upon the entrenchments; but after losing a number of men, he

* In the History of Faria de Souza, it is related, that the unfortunate monarch had made application for assistance to Nuno de Cuna, the Governor-general of the Portuguese settlements in India, who sent a squadron of nine ships to his aid; but they did not arrive in Bengal till after the surrender of the city. This was the first introduction of the Portuguese into Bengal, as a military power; although some of their ships had entered the Ganges as early as A.D. 1517.

SECT. IV. was himself severely wounded, and compelled to retreat towards the main army.

The Emperor, irritated at such unexpected opposition, advanced hastily towards the passes, vowing vengeance on the garrison; whilst Jellal Khan, alarmed at the approach of the Moghuls, abandoned the entrenchments, and, in a pusillanimous manner, retreated with the whole of his army, to join his father at Gour.

Mahmood, the expelled king of Bengal, who accompanied the army, upon his arrival at Colgong, having heard that the Afghans had murdered his two sons, who were taken prisoners on the capture of his capital, was so affected by the intelligence, that he died after a few days illness.

The reign of this prince, including the period of his expulsion, was five years. The inscription on the Mosque erected by him, and still existing at Saadullapore*, clearly ascertains that he was the son of Sultan Ala Addeen Hussein Shah; although some authors have expressed doubts of his origin. With him terminated the line of independent Kings of Bengal, who ruled that country for two hundred and four years: for although several of the rulers of Gour afterwards assumed the title of King, they were not masters of the whole of the province, nor was their right acknowledged by their contemporaries, and consequently they cannot be considered as absolute sovereigns.

A. D. 1538-9. This event occurred in the year of the Hegira 945.

* Supposed to be the small Golden Mosque.

## SECT. V.

### *The Shere Shah Dynasty.*

THE Emperor Homayon, having secured the important passes which have been always considered as the keys of Bengal, continued his march to Gour; but Shere Khan, fearing to trust either to its fortifications, or to the bravery of his own troops against the Moghuls, collected all the treasure and valuable effects belonging to the Kings of Bengal†, and retreated, with the whole of his Afghans, by the way of Jarcund, or south-west range of mountains, to his native district of Sehsaram, where in a short time, by a bold and successful stratagem, he rendered himself master of the impregnable and extensive fortress of Rhotas. A. D. 1538-9.

Upon the arrival of the Emperor at Gour, the gates were thrown open, and he was received by the inhabitants with every testimony of joy and satisfaction. Homayon was also much gratified by his easy conquest of so valuable a province.

† Faria de Souza states the amount at sixty millions of gold.

SECT. V. Orders were immediately issued for the Khutbeh to be read in all the mosques, proclaiming his accession to the kingdom of Bengal: he also directed the name of the city to be changed to *Jennetabad* (the City of Paradise); and, to commemorate the event, ordered a new coinage to be struck, bearing his own titles, and the new name of the city.

The Emperor was, in fact, so much infatuated by his new conquest, that he spent three very important months in luxurious gratifications; during which time his enemies were strengthening themselves in every quarter, and Shere Khan was even making preparations to oppose his return.

Repeated intelligence of the machinations of his enemies at length roused the Emperor from his lethargy; and although it was the height of the rainy season, when the roads of Bengal were covered with water, and the rivers swollen by the torrents from the mountains, he perceived the absolute
A. D. 1539. necessity of returning to Agra. He therefore, in the year 946, appointed Jehangire Cooly Beg governor of Bengal, with five thousand select Moghul cavalry to support his authority; and having with some difficulty crossed the Ganges, proceeded by easy stages towards the western part of his empire.

The Moghul cavalry, unaccustomed to the sultry weather of Bengal, and exposed to constant rains and excessive fatigue, became languid, and perished in great numbers. This circumstance, added to the rebellion of the Emperor's brothers, emboldened Shere Khan, elated by his success against Rhotas, to contend once more for the kingdom of Bengal. He collected the dispersed Afghans from every quarter; and having thrown up entrenchments on the banks of the Currumnassa river, at a place called Chowsar, opposed the further progress of the

Emperor. For nearly three months, the Moghul army remained in this situation, in a state of inactivity; neither daring to storm the Afghan entrenchments, nor possessing the means of recrossing the Ganges, by which they might have taken another route. Such a state was ruinous to the Emperor's affairs; he therefore readily accepted an overture made by Shere Khan, of sending an agent to settle terms of peace. The pious derveish Kheleel, preceptor to Shere, became the intermediator. A treaty was drawn out, by which Homayon resigned to Shere Khan the sovereignty of Behar and Bengal, upon condition that he would no longer oppose his march, nor assist his enemies. This treaty having been duly ratified, much rejoicing took place in both camps, but especially among the Moghuls, who were exhausted by continual alarms, and anxious to return to their homes. But the very night on which the treacherous Shere had sworn, by the Koran, not to injure the Moghuls, he suddenly attacked their camp, and, having taken them completely by surprise, slew many of them, and compelled the rest to flee in all directions. SECT. V.

The Emperor, with a few of his friends, escaped by swimming their horses across the Ganges; but eight thousand Moghuls perished in the attempt. This memorable event occurred in the year 946. A. D. 1539.

## FERID ADDEEN SOOR SHERE SHAH*.

*Origin of Shere—He proceeds to Agra—Obtains the Royal grant of his patrimony, the districts of Sehsaram and Tondah—Joins Mahmood, king of Behar—Excites Mahmood's jealousy—Enters the service of the Emperor Baber—Returns to Behar, and, on Mahmood's death, obtains the administration of the government—The young king, Jellal, suspicious of Shere's intentions, flies for protection to Bengal—Shere increases his power by marriage—Submits to the authority of Mahmood, on condition of being allowed to retain part of Behar, and of assisting him against the Emperor Homayon—Betrays Mahmood, by withdrawing his forces previous to the action—Refuses to surrender the fort of Chunar to the Emperor—Takes the fortress of Rhotas by stratagem—Overthrows Homayon, and completes the conquest of Behar and Bengal—Appoints* KHIZER KHAN *governor of Bengal—Pursues, and totally defeats the Emperor—Assumes the Imperial titles—Returns from Agra to Gour, and reduces the increasing power of his deputy,* KHIZER KHAN*—Subdivides Bengal into Provinces—His death, character, and public works.*

THE original name of Shere was Ferid. His father was Hussein, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh, a mountainous country on the confines of India and Persia. When Sultan Beloli placed his foot on the throne of the Indian empire, the grandfather of Shere, Ibrahim, came to Dehly in quest of military service. The original seat of the Afghans

* As the origin and rise of Shere Shah are detailed at considerable length in the History of Hindoostan, it will to some persons appear unnecessary to have inserted it here, and I had determined to omit it; but as many of the readers of this work may not have it in their power to refer to that History, and may be anxious to know the origin of so celebrated a character, it is hoped that, in general, its insertion will not be considered as a work of supererogation.

was Roh, which, in their language, signifies a mountainous country: it extended, they say, in length, from Sewad and Bijore, to the town of Sui in the dominions of Bukharast; and in breadth, from Hussin to Rabul. This tract, in its fertile valleys, contained many separate tribes; among the number of these was that of Soor, who derive themselves from the Princes of Ghor, whose family held the empire after the extinction of the race of Ghizne. One of the sons of the Ghorian family, whose name was Mohammed Soor, having left his native country, placed himself among the Afghans of Roh, and was the father of the tribe of Soor, which was esteemed the noblest among them.

Ibrahim, the grandfather of Shere, arriving at Dehly, engaged himself in the service of an amyr of the Court of Beloli. When the empire fell to Sekunder the son of Beloli, the noble Jemmal, a chief of high renown, was appointed Governor of Joanpore; and he took Hussein, the son of Ibrahim, in his retinue. He found him a youth of parts; and favoured him so much, that, in a short time, he gave him the districts of Sehsaram and Tondah, in jagier†, for which he was to maintain five hundred horse. Hussein had eight sons: Ferid and Nizam of one mother, of a Patan family: the other sons were born of slaves.

Hussein had no great love for his wife, and he therefore neglected her sons. Ferid, upon this, left his father's house, and enlisted himself a soldier in the service of Jemmal, the governor of Joanpore. Hussein wrote to Jemmal upon this occasion, requesting him to send back his son, that he might be

† A grant or tenure of lands for military or other services.

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educated. But all that Jemmal could say had no effect upon Ferid. Joanpore, he said, was a better place for instruction than Sehsaram; and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. This he did to so much purpose, that he soon could repeat the works of the celebrated poet Sadi, and was, besides, a proficient in all the learning of the country. He, however, employed most of his time in history and poetry, being supported by the liberality of Jemmal.

After three or four years had elapsed, Hussein came to Joanpore; and, by the mediation of friends, the father and son were reconciled. Hussein gave Ferid the charge of his estate, and remained himself at Joanpore. Ferid, when he took leave of his father, said, "That the stability of government "depended on justice; and that it would be his greatest care "not to violate it, either by oppressing the weak, or permitting "the strong to infringe the laws with impunity." When he arrived at his jagier, he actually put this resolution in practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and reducing to order such of his zemindars as opposed his authority. He, by this means, had his revenues punctually paid, and his country well cultivated. His reputation grew apace; for all his actions discovered uncommon genius and resolution.

Hussein coming to visit his estate, was extremely well pleased with the management of his son, and therefore continued him in his office. But the father had a favourite concubine, by whom he had three sons, Soliman, Ahmed, and Mudda; and the old man was extremely fond of her. She told him, that now her son Soliman was grown up, he ought to provide for him. Day after day she continued to teaze Hussein for the superintendency of the pergunnahs for

Soliman. This gave the old amyr great concern, knowing the superior abilities of Ferid. The son, hearing that the domestic peace of his father was destroyed, by the importunities of his favourite, made a voluntary resignation of his trust, which was accordingly conferred upon Soliman. SECT. V.

Ferid, and his brother Nizam, set out immediately for Agra, and entered into the service of Dowlat, one of the principal omrahs of the Emperor Ibrahim. Ferid, by his good behaviour, soon insinuated himself into his master's affection. Dowlat one day desired him to tell him what he was most desirous to obtain, offering to use his interest with the King in his favour. Ferid replied, that, as his father was now in his dotage, and wholly guided by an artful mistress, who had deprived both him and his brother of their patrimonial inheritance, and had procured their estate for her own spurious offspring, if Dowlat would, therefore, by his interest at Court, procure the royal grant of the estate in his name, he would promise to provide for his father, and maintain five hundred good horse for the service of the empire. Dowlat accordingly preferred this request to the Emperor Ibrahim, who replied, that he must be a bad man indeed who reviled and undermined the interest of his own father. Dowlat retired in silence, and informed Ferid of the answer he had received, but comforted him with a promise of taking another opportunity to urge his request. In the mean time, the father of Ferid died, and Dowlat obtained the Emperor's grant, with which the two brothers set out to Sehsaram with a grand retinue.

Soliman, upon the arrival of his brothers, quitted the country, going off to Mohammed, one of the Afghan family of Soor, and his relation, who held the district of Chond, and

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kept up a force of 1500 horse, to whom he complained of the behaviour of Ferid. Mohammed told him, that Baber intending to invade Hindoostan, a war between that prince and the Emperor Ibrahim was unavoidable; that therefore, if he should accompany him, when called to the Imperial army, he would endeavour to get him redress. Soliman was too impatient to wait so long in suspense. Mohammed therefore sent a person to Ferid, to treat about a reconciliation. Ferid replied, that he was willing to give his brother a proper share of his father's inheritance, but that he must be excused from parting with any of his power; repeating, at the same time, the old adage, that 'Two swords could never rest in one scabbard.' Soliman would not be satisfied without a share of the government; and therefore nothing was settled between the brothers. This irritated Mohammed so much, that he resolved to compel Ferid to the measures which he himself had proposed. Ferid, being informed of this resolution, began to provide for his own security; but news arriving of the Emperor Ibrahim's defeat and death, the whole country was thrown into confusion; A. H. 932.

A. D. 1525.

Ferid resolved not to lie idle in the midst of the troubles which ensued. He joined Par Khan, the son of Diria Lohani, who had subdued Behar and assumed the royal dignity, under the name of Sultan Mohammed, or Mahmood. As that monarch was one day on a hunting party, he roused an enormous tiger; which Ferid immediately attacked, and killed with one blow of his sabre. For this bold action, which was done in Mahmood's presence, he was honoured with the title of Shere Khan*. Shere rose gradually to great influence and favour, in Mahmood's

Obtains the title of Shere Khan,

* Shere signifies a lion.

service. He was even appointed tutor to his son, Jellal. He, in the mean time, requested permission to go to his estate, and was detained there by business till long after his leave of absence had expired. Sultan Mahmood, dissatisfied with this behaviour, reproached him one day, in public, with the breach of promise; and Mohammed of the family of Soor, being present, took that opportunity of accusing him of treasonable designs, and with favouring the interest of Mahmood the son of the Emperor Sekunder†. The Sultan was by this means so incensed against him, that he intimated, at the time, a design to deprive him of his estate, and to confer it upon his brother Soliman, as a just punishment for his offence, and the only thing that could bring him to a proper sense of his duty. SECT. V.

Sultan Mahmood, however, having a great esteem for Shere, against whom nothing was yet proved, laid aside the violent measure to which he was instigated by Mohammed. He nevertheless, by way of alarming Shere, gave orders to his accuser to inquire into his father's estate, and to make an equal division of it among all the brothers. Mohammed, glad of this order, sent one of his servants to Shere, to acquaint him that his brothers, according to the King's commands, were to have their proportionate dividends of the estate, which he had hitherto so unjustly withheld from them. Shere returned for answer, that Mohammed was very much mistaken in this

† The accidental occurrence of three persons of the same name renders this part of the history a little obscure. The first was Mahmood Shah, king of Bengal. The second, Sultan Mahmood, son of a famous general named Diria Lohani, who, in the revolution occasioned by the invasion of Baber, seized upon the province of Behar. The third was of the Royal Afghan family of Lody, and brother of the last Emperor of that dynasty.

SECT. V. matter: that there were no hereditary estates in India, as in Ghor, for that all the land belonged to the King, which he disposed of at pleasure: That as he himself had a personal grant of his estate, his brethren were entirely out of the question: That he, however, had already consented to give to his brother Soliman a part of the money and moveables, acording to law.

When the messenger returned with this answer, Mohammed, who was then at Chond, was enraged at so direct a refusal, and raising all his forces, sent them against Shere, under the command of Shadi, his adopted slave, accompanied by Shere's brothers, Soliman and Ahmed. Shadi's orders were to take possession of the country, and to leave a force with Soliman, to protect him in the estate. This resolution being quickly taken, Shere had not time to collect his people; but, upon the first alarm, he wrote to one Malleck, his deputy in the district of Khuaspore Tondah, to harass the enemy with what troops he had, but to avoid an action till he joined him in person. Malleck, desirous of distinguishing himself, gave them battle, and lost his life and the victory. This unexpected disaster weakened Shere so much, that he was in no condition to oppose Mohammed; he therefore abandoned the country, and fled to Juneid Birlass, governor of Currah and Manickpore on the part of the Emperor Baber. He made Birlass a handsome present, was taken into favour, and obtained a body of troops to recover his estates. With these he defeated Mohammed, who fled to the mountains of Rhotas; so that he not only possessed himself of his own territory, but added several other districts to his jagier, which he now professed to hold of the Moghul Emperor Baber.

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Having rewarded the Moghuls who had assisted him, he permitted them to return to their master. He, at the same time, levied troops, and was joined by his former friends, who had fled to the hills, which rendered him very formidable in those parts.

Shere, having thus established himself in his estate, performed an act of generosity, which, if it was not intended to deceive the world, does him much honour. He recalled his enemy Mohammed, who had fled; and put him in possession of his former estate. This generous treatment converted his greatest enemy into one of his best friends. Shere, having settled his affairs, left his brother Nizam in charge of his district, and paid a visit to his benefactor, Juneid Birlass, at Currah. Birlass was then going to Agra, and Shere resolved to accompany him thither. He was, upon this occasion, introduced to the Emperor Baber, and attended that prince in his expedition to Chinderi.

After Shere had staid some time in the Moghul camp, and observed their manners and policy, he one day told a friend, that he thought it would be an easy matter to drive those foreigners out of Hindoostan. His friend asked him what reason he had to think so? Shere replied, "That the Emperor "himself, though a man of great parts, was but very little "acquainted with the policy of Hindoostan; and that the "minister, who held the reins of government, would be too "much biassed in favour of his own interest, to mind that "of the public. That therefore, if the Afghans, who were now "at enmity among themselves, could be brought to mutual "concord, the work was completed: and should fortune ever "favour him, he imagined himself equal to the task, however

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difficult it might at present appear." His friend burst out into a loud laugh, and began to ridicule this vain opinion. Shere, a few days after, had, at the Emperor's table, some solid dishes set before him, and only a spoon to eat with. He called for a knife, but the servants had orders not to supply him with one. Shere, not to lose his dinner, drew his dagger without ceremony, and, cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without minding those who diverted themselves at this odd behaviour. When he had done, the Emperor, who had been remarking his manner, turned to Amyr Khalifa, and said, "This "Afghan is not to be disconcerted with trifles, and is likely to "be a great man."

Shere, perceiving by these words that the Emperor had been informed of his private discourse with his friend, fled the camp that night, and went to his own estate. He wrote from thence to his benefactor, Juneid Birlass, that as Mohammed had prevailed on Sultan Mahmood, king of Behar, to send troops against his jagier, he had in haste left the Emperor's camp, without waiting upon him for leave. He, by this means, amused Juneid Birlass, prevented his chastising him, and at the same time made up matters with Mahmood, with whom he became a greater favourite than before.

Sultan Mahmood of Behar, dying a short time after, was succeeded by his son Jellal, a minor. The young prince's mother, the Sultana Dudu, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices in the government upon Shere. The Sultana dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into the hands of Shere. Mukhdoom Aalum*, the governor of Hajypore, on the part of

Shere becomes Regent of Behar, A.D. 1533-4.

* See page 118.

SECT. V.

Mahmood Shah, king of Bengal, being guilty of some misdemeanor, threw himself under Shere's protection. Mahmood, to revenge this insult, ordered Cuttub, governor of Mongeir, with a great force against Behar. As the forces of Behar were inconsiderable in comparison of those of Bengal, Shere made many overtures for accommodating the differences, but to no effect. Finding no arguments could prevail but the sword, he resolved to stand the unequal encounter: in which his superior skill and bravery acquired him a complete victory. Cuttub was slain, A. D. 1533-4. and all his treasure, elephants, and camp equipage taken, which greatly advanced the political designs of Shere.

After this victory, the chiefs of the Patan tribe of Lohani, the cousins of Jellal the young king of Behar, envying the fortune of Shere, formed a conspiracy to take away his life. Shere discovered the plot, and taxed Jellal with it, who was indeed privy to it, being very jealous of the great influence of his minister. He told the young prince on this occasion, that there was no necessity for taking such a base method of getting disengaged from his servant; for that if he should but once signify his inclination, he was ready to resign that government which he had lately so successfully protected. The prince, either suspecting his sincerity, or being equally suspicious of the other omrahs, would by no means consent to his resignation. This so much disgusted the conspirators, that they took every possible measure to make a breach between the prince and his minister. Shere, finding that he had no security but in maintaining his power by the unlimited use he made of it, justly excited the prince's jealousy to such a pitch, that, one night, the prince, accompanied by his omrahs, fled to Mahmood

SECT. V. A.D. 1535-6.

of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Shere, who had usurped his throne*.

Shere, by this event, became lord of all Behar, and grew daily more and more formidable. One Taji was at this time governor of the strong fort of Chunar, which he had held for himself ever since the death of Ibrahim Lody, Emperor of Hindoostan. His wife, Lodi Malleki, who was barren, yet for whom he had a very great affection, being envied by his other wives by whom he had children, they instigated their sons to make away with her: but one of the sons, who had undertaken the murder, missed his blow, and only inflicted a slight wound. Taji, alarmed by her cries, came to her assistance, and drew his sword to kill his son. The son, seeing no means of escape, assaulted his father, and slew him. The sons of Taji were yet too young to be entrusted with the government; and Lodi Malleki drew the reins into her own hands, by her address among the chiefs and zemindars. Shere, informed of these transactions, set a treaty of marriage on foot with Lodi Malleki, which was soon concluded. Shere by these means obtained possession of Chunar and the dependent districts, which was a great acquisition to his power, there being a considerable treasure in the place.

Much about this time, Mahmood, the son of the Emperor Sekunder Lody, having embraced the protection of Rana Sinka, by his assistance, and that of Hassen of Mewat, advanced against the Emperor Baber, and was defeated at Janveh. Mahmood, flying to Chitor, was from thence invited by the chiefs of the

* See reign of Mahmood Shah, p. 119.

tribe of Lody, who were gathered together at Patna, and by them proclaimed King. He soon made himself master of all Behar. Shere, perceiving that he could not draw the omrahs over from Mahmood's interest, and that he had not sufficient force to oppose him, submitted to his authority, and by that means saved a part of Behar, which the Sultan permitted him to retain. Mahmood told him, at the same time, that if he would effectually assist him in recovering Joanpore from the Moghuls, he, in return, would make over the province of Behar to him: and a contract to that effect was drawn up and executed between them.

Shere, some time after, obtained leave to return to Sehsaram, to levy troops; and Mahmood, marching with an army against the Moghuls, sent him orders to join. But as Shere delayed for some time, the Sultan, persuaded by his omrahs that he was playing a loose game, marched his army through Shere's estate, on his way to Joanpore. Shere came out to meet him, had an elegant entertainment provided for his reception, and then marched with him to Joanpore. The troops of the Emperor Homayon quitted the province upon their approach, so that the Afghans took possession of the country as far as Lucknow.

Homayon lay, at this time, before Callinger, in Bundelcund; and hearing of the progress of the Afghans, he marched against them. Mahmood having, on this occasion, given a superior command to Bein Baezid, Shere, who thought himself ill used, betrayed his master; and wrote a private letter, the night before the action, to Hindoo Beg, one of the Moghul generals, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself a servant of "Baber's family, to whom he owed his advancement; and "that he would be the cause of defeating the Afghans next

SECT. V.

"day." He drew off his troops in the action, which occasioned Mahmood's defeat, for which service he was greatly favoured by Homayon. Mahmood, after this defeat, retreated
A.D. 1542. to Patna, retired from the world, and, in the year 949, died at Orissa.

Homayon, after this victory, returned to Agra, and sent the noble Hindoo Beg to Shere, to demand possession of the fort of Chunar. Shere excused himself, and obliged Hindoo Beg to retreat. Homayon returned immediately with his whole army to besiege Chunar; and having invested it, he received a letter from Shere, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself one of the servants of the house of Baber, from whom "he first obtained a government; and that he had evinced his "fidelity, by having been the occasion of the late victory: "That therefore, if the King would permit him to retain the "government of the fort, he was willing to pay him the proper "revenues of the lands which he held; and would send his son "Cuttub, with five hundred horse, to be maintained at his "own expence, in the Emperor's service." As, at this juncture, the affairs of Guzerat, by the conquests of Behadur, required the King's presence, and considering also the strength of Chunar, Homayon consented to these terms; and accordingly, being joined by Cuttub, the son of Shere, with five hundred horse, he marched towards Behadur. The King, however, had scarcely reached Guzerat, when Cuttub deserted with all his horse, and returned to his father. Shere immediately raised what forces he could, and reduced Behar. Not satisfied with his success, he pursued his fortune, and penetrated into the heart of Bengal, having fought with the omrahs of that country several sharp battles, before he could make himself master of the passes, which were defended a whole month.

SECT. V.

Mahmood of Bengal shut himself up in Gour, the capital, which Shere for a long time besieged. One of the zemindars of Behar having raised a disturbance, he left Khuas Khan to carry on the siege, and returned to Behar. Provisions becoming at length very scarce in Gour, Mahmood fled in a boat to Hajypore; and Shere, having settled affairs in Behar, returned and pursued him. Mahmood, being necessitated to give battle, was defeated; and being wounded in the engagement, fled his kingdom, which immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror*.

It has been before stated, that on the advance of the Emperor Homayon towards Gour, Shere Khan had deemed it prudent to retire to his original patrimony at Sehsaram, where he revolved in his mind various schemes for possessing himself of the important fortress of Rhotas, that he might there lodge in security his family, and the immense wealth which he had brought from Bengal. To take Rhotas by open force was an impossible attempt. It was therefore necessary to devise some stratagem, by which success might be hoped. Shere, for this purpose, sent a message to Raja Berkis, who was in possession of this impregnable fortress, and told him, "That, as he himself was going to "attempt the recovery of Bengal, he hoped that, from their "former friendship, he would permit him to send his family "and treasure into the place, with a few attendants." Berkis at first rejected this request; but Shere sent an artful ambassador to him a second time, with some handsome presents,

Stratagem for taking the fortress of Rhotas.

* See reign of Mahmood, page 121.

SECT. V.

acquainting him, "That it was only for his women and treasure "he requested his princely protection: That should he be for- "tunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper "acknowledgments for the favour on his return; but if he "should lose his life in the contest, he rather chose that his "family and wealth should fall into the hands of Berkis, than "into those of the Moghuls, his inveterate enemies." Berkis, suffering himself to be deluded by his avarice, determined, when once in possession of the treasure, to keep it; and therefore consented to Shere's request. The Afghan, having provided covered chairs*, filled them all, except two or three which were to go first, with armed men and arms. He at the same time filled five hundred money-bags with leaden bullets, and appointed some of his best soldiers to carry them, in the disguise of slaves, with sticks in their hands, who were intended in appearance to help to carry the treasure up the mountain. The men who carried the close chairs were disguised in the same manner. This train accordingly set out; and the first and second chair being examined at the gate, were found to contain only old women, so that further examination was neglected. The Raja, in the mean time, was busy in counting the bags, which he now reckoned part of his own fortune. When the chairs reached the house which the Raja had appointed, the wolves rushed out among the sheep, and began to dye the fold with their blood. The porters used their staves, till they supplied themselves with arms from the chairs. They easily mastered the garrison, who were off their guard;

* Somewhat similar to our sedan chairs: they are called Doolies.

and admitted Shere, who was encamped at a small distance. Berkis himself, with a few followers, found means to escape into the woods, by a private passage behind the fort. SECT. V.

Thus fell one of the most impregnable fortresses in the world into the hands of Shere, together with much treasure, which had been accumulating there for ages.

Rhotas is built upon the level top of a mountain. The only entrance to it is a very narrow road, through a steep ascent of two miles, from the foot of the hill to the gates, which are three in number, one above another, defended by guns and rolling-stones. The square contents of the fortified table land, on the top of the mountain, is more than ten miles: in this space are contained towns, villages, and corn fields; and water is found a few feet from the surface. On one side runs the river Soane, under an immense precipice; another river, in the same manner, passes close to the other side; and both meeting a little below, form the hill into a triangular peninsula. There is a very deep valley on the third side, full of impervious woods, which spread all over the mountains, and render access that way next to impossible†.

Shere had now a secure retreat for his family; and his friends began to acquire fresh spirits by this piece of success. Homayon, in the mean time, spent three months, in luxurious pleasures, in Gour the capital of Bengal. He there received advices that his brother, Prince Hindal, had revolted in his governments of Agra and Mewat; that he had put to death Shaik Phoul, the only man of consequence who would

† Since the English have had possession of Behar, the fortifications of Rhotas have been entirely neglected.

SECT. V.

not break his allegiance to the Emperor; and had coined money in his own name. Homayon therefore left Jehangire Cooly Beg, with five thousand horse, in Gour, and retired towards Agra.

By the excessive rains and bad roads, the king's cavalry and beasts of burthen perished in great numbers on his march, through fatigue and want of forage. Shere, who had now raised a numerous army, entrenched himself at Chowsar, on the banks of the river Currumnassa, in a place by which the King must of necessity pass; and, by treachery, defeated him with great slaughter, in the manner which we have already related*.

Shere completes his conquest of Behar and Bengal.

Shere Khan immediately assumed the royal insignia and titles; but deeming it more advisable to establish himself firmly in the kingdom of Bengal, than to pursue the fugitive Emperor, he marched directly towards Gour. In the vicinity of that city he was opposed by Jehangire Cooly Beg, the Moghul governor; but the great superiority in numbers of the Afghans enabled them shortly to annihilate their adversaries: and Shere, having taken possession of the city, was on the following day proclaimed Sovereign of the united kingdoms of Bengal and Behar, under the title of Shere Shah.

A. D. 1539.

Shere continued in Gour till the end of the year 946, busily employed in forming arrangements for the good government of the country, and in recruiting and equipping his troops. At length, having assembled an army of 50,000 Afghans, he marched to attack the Emperor. They met in the vicinity of Cannouge,

A. D. 1540.

where, on the 10th of the month Mohurrem, 947, the empire

* See page 125.

of Hindoostan was again transferred from the Moghuls to the Afghans, by the total defeat of the unfortunate Homayon. SECT. V.

When Shere Shah found it requisite to proceed against the Emperor, he entrusted the government of Bengal to a chief named Khizer Khan. This person, fired by that ambition which seems to torment every Mohammedan bosom, shortly after the departure of his patron, united himself in marriage with a daughter of Mahmood Shah, the late king of Bengal. By this connexion he conciliated a number of the dependants of the late dynasty; and, flattered by their attention, he assumed a degree of state and consequence which soon aroused the jealousy and vigilance of Shere Shah; who, judging of the sentiments of others by his own conduct, thought it requisite to clip the wings of the ambition of his deputy: he therefore, in the year 948, returned to Bengal; and Khizer Khan, having advanced some days' journey from the capital to meet him, was seized, and all his wealth confiscated.

Khizer Khan, governor of Gour, excites Shere's jealousy.

A. D. 1541.

After this, Shere proceeded to Gour, and subdivided the kingdom of Bengal into several provinces, to each of which he nominated a distinct governor. He then appointed Cazy Fazylet, a person celebrated for his learning, policy, and piety, to superintend the whole, to preserve unanimity amongst the governors, and to report to him on their conduct. Having thus settled the affairs of Bengal to his own satisfaction, Shere Shah returned, at the end of the year 948, to Agra.

Bengal subdivided into provinces.

The prudent measures established by this monarch kept Bengal in a state of tranquillity and happiness during the remainder of his life, which was terminated by the explosion

SECT. V.

Shere's death, A. D. 1545.

of a shell, as he was besieging the fort of Callinger in Bundelcund, on the 12th of the month Rubby al Avul, A. H. 952. He spent fifteen years in a military life before he mounted the throne; and he sat upon the musnud five years, as Emperor of Hindoostan.

The character of Shere is almost equally divided between virtue and vice. Public justice prevailed in the kingdom, while private acts of treachery dishonoured the hands of the king. He seemed to have made breach of faith a royal property, which he would by no means permit his subjects to share with him. We ought, perhaps, to ascribe this vice to the ambition of Shere. Had he been born to the throne, he might have been just, as he was valiant and politic in war: had he confined his mind to his estate, he might have merited the character of a virtuous chief; but his greatness of mind made him look up to the empire, and he cared not by what steps he was to ascend.

Shere left many monuments of his magnificence behind him. From Sonargaum, in Bengal, to that branch of the Indus called the Nilab, which is fifteen hundred coss*, he built caravanserais at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every coss. Besides, he raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Korân, and priests. He ordered, that at every stage, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expence. He at the same time planted rows of fruit-trees along the roads, to preserve travellers from the scorching heat

* About three thousand of our miles.

of the sun, as well as to gratify their taste. Horse-posts were placed at proper distances, for forwarding quick intelligence to government, and for the advantage of trade and correspondence: this establishment was new in India. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to sleep on the highway.

It is said, that Shere, being told his beard grew white, replied, "It was true that he had obtained the empire towards the evening." He divided his time into four equal parts:—one he appropriated to the distribution of public justice, one to the regulations of his army, one to worship, and the remainder to rest and recreation. He was buried at Sehsaram, his original estate, in a magnificent sepulchre which he had built in the middle of a great reservoir of water†.

## MOHAMMED KHAN SOOR.

Soon after the succession of Selim Shah, the second son of Shere Shah, to the throne of Dehly, he had the weakness to abrogate the prudential system of his father; and appointed one of his relations, named Mohammed Khan, to the general

† This fine monument of the magnificence of Shere still remains entire. The artificial lake which surrounds it is not much less than a mile in circumference.

The following is a poetical description of it:

"From 'midst a limpid pool, superbly high,
The massy dome obtrudes into the sky:
Upon the banks more humble tombs abound,
Of faithful servants, who their Chief surround.
The Monarch still seems grandeur to dispense,
And e'en in death maintains preeminence."

*Asiatic Miscellany.*

SECT. V. government of Bengal. This chief is said to have ruled with strict justice and great propriety during the whole of the reign
A. D. 1553. of Selim; but when, in the year 960, the abandoned Mohammed Adil* had seized the throne, the Governor of Bengal, deeming himself absolved from any allegiance to the murderer of the son of his patron, disclaimed the Imperial authority, and ordered the coin to be stampt in his own name.

During the following year, he extended his dominions by taking possession of some of the districts of Joanpore; but, in
A. D. 1555. the year 962, having advanced at the head of a numerous army to Choppergotta near Calpie, he there met his death, in an engagement with Himu, the vizier of the Emperor Mohammed Adil.

## BEHADUR SHAH.

After the defeat at Choppergotta, the troops of Bengal retreated to the village of Joosy, in the vicinity of what is now the fort of Allahabad; where the Afghan chiefs raised to the throne Khizer Khan, the son of the deceased king, under the title of Behadur Shah. Although this prince was anxious to avenge the death of his father, he deemed it more prudent to return to Bengal, and, having arranged the affairs of that province, to wait a more favourable opportunity to contend for the empire of Dehly.

Upon the arrival of Behadur Shah at Gour, he found that a chief, named Shabaz Khan, had, upon intelligence of the defeat of the Bengal army, taken possession of that city in the name of the Emperor Mohammed Adil. The usurper

* See History of Hindoostan, A. D. 1552.

was however shortly abandoned by his own troops, seized, and put to death. SECT. V.

After this event, Behadur Shah employed himself in recruiting his army; and in the following year, 963, marched to meet the Emperor Mohammed Adil. The contending armies met in the vicinity of Mongier; and, after a hard-fought battle, the Emperor was slain, and his army totally routed. This victory gave to Behadur Shah the absolute sovereignty of Bengal and part of Behar. He is said to have ruled these territories with reputation for six years, and died at Gour in the year 968. A. D. 1556. A. D. 1560-1.

## JELLAL ADDEEN.

Behadur Shah, dying without children, was succeeded by his brother Jellal Khan, who at the end of three years (viz. in 971) also died at Gour, and was succeeded by his son, a youth, who soon after fell by the hands of an assassin named Ghyas Addeen, who for a short time usurped the government. A. D. 1563-4.

## SOLIMAN SHAH KERANY.

*Soliman Kerany takes possession of Bengal, but allows his brother, Taj Khan, to act as his deputy—Proceeds to Bengal on the death of his brother, and removes the seat of government from Gour to Tondah—Sends presents to the Emperor Akbar—Invests the Fort of Rhotas, the Governor of which obtains the assistance of the Emperor, whose army causes Soliman to raise the siege—Invades Orissa, and basely assassinates Sultan Ibrahim—By politic conduct he subsequently enjoys a peaceable reign, and dies much regretted by his subjects.*

The Afghan tribe of Kerany had been peculiarly distinguished by Shere Shah and his son Selim, who conferred on them handsome estates in Boujepore and the vicinity of Khuaspore

SECT. V.

Tondah. Soliman's elder brother, Taj Khan Kerany, was governor of Sumbul during the reign of the Emperor Selim Shah; but, on going to pay his respects at the Court of Mohammed Adil, he was so disgusted with the conduct of that infamous monarch and his vizier*, that he resolved to abandon the service of so unworthy a master, and retire to his paternal estates. In his progress towards Boujepore, he seized a hundred elephants belonging to the Emperor, and a large sum of the public money: the former he distributed amongst his brethren and relations, and the latter he disbursed in raising troops to oppose Himu, the Imperial vizier, who came in pursuit of him. They fought in the vicinity of Chunar; but, although the Kerany tribe were worsted, they retired with their wealth and plunder to Boujepore: and the Imperial army being compelled to march against a more powerful enemy, they remained unmolested.

Soliman Kerany, the second brother, was appointed by Selim Shah to the government of Behar; and, upon the death of that monarch, not only refused to acknowledge the authority of his successor, but stimulated his brother Taj Khan also to quit the Imperial service, and to join him with his adherents. The consequence of this advice has been already related.

A. D. 1555.

When, in the year 962, the Emperor Mohammed Adil advanced into Behar, Soliman joined his troops to those of the King of Bengal, and contributed much to the victory gained over the Imperial arms in the vicinity of Mongier. He continued on good terms with Behadur Shah, and his brother Jellal Addeen; but when the son of the latter was

* See History of Hindoostan, A. D. 1552.

assassinated by Ghyas Addeen, he detached a well-appointed army, under the command of his brother, Taj Khan Kerany, to take possession of Bengal. This measure having been effected with little opposition, he allowed his brother to retain the government as his deputy during his life, which however only lasted one year.

A. D. 1564-5, Soliman Shah makes Tondah the capital of Bengal.

On the decease of Taj Khan in the year 972, Soliman proceeded to Bengal; but conceiving, from the number of kings who had died at Gour, that it was either an unhealthy or an unlucky place, he made Tondah, or Tonra, the capital of his dominions†.

Soon after Soliman had taken possession of Bengal, he despatched an intelligent agent with many valuable presents to the Court of the Emperor Akbar‡, with assurances of his great respect and attachment; which conduct highly gratified and flattered the Emperor, and contributed to the ease and comfort of the inhabitants of Bengal, who were at that period very apprehensive of a visit from the Imperial arms.

Soliman having rendered himself completely master of all Bengal and Behar, excepting the strong fort of Rhotas, marched with a numerous army in the year 973, and invested that fortress. The siege had continued nearly six months, when the Emperor

A. D. 1565-6.

† The following is the account given of Tondah in Major Rennell's Memoir. "Tondah, Tanra, or Tarrah, is situated very near the site of Gour, on the road leading from it to Rajemahel. There is little remaining of this place, save the rampart; nor do we know for certain when it was deserted." It is sometimes called Khuaspore Tondah, from the original name of the district in which it was situated*.

This account is not so correct as that generally furnished by Major Rennell; as Tondah is certainly separated from Gour by the Bagamutty river, which Mr. Wilford supposes was the old bed of the Ganges. See Asiatic Researches, 8vo edit. vol. V. pp. 257, 272, 277.

‡ Akbar ascended the throne in the month of January 1556.

* See Ayeen Akberry, vol. II. p. 177.

SECT. V. A.D. 1566. Akbar arriving at Joanpore, Futteh Khan, the governor of Rhotas, implored his assistance; promising to deliver up the keys of the garrison to any of his Majesty's servants who might be sent for that purpose. Akbar, anxious to get possession of so important a place, immediately sent off a chosen detachment of Moghuls to raise the siege. In the mean time, the King of Bengal, fearful of encountering the Imperial arms, retreated to his own country; and the Emperor, desirous to prevent his aiding the rebellious Usbec chiefs, sent an ambassador, named Mohammed Khan Seistany, to cultivate his friendship. The Emperor at the same period sent an ambassador to the Raja of Orissa, to form a treaty with him; and to desire, should Soliman join the rebels, that the Raja would immediately invade Bengal, and depend upon him for support and assistance.

A.D. 1567-8. In the year 975, the Emperor being engaged in the western provinces, Soliman invaded Orissa, and shortly subdued that province. But this conquest was stained by an act of the grossest treachery; for having invited to a conference Sultan Ibrahim, who for a short period had been Emperor of Dehly, and after various misfortunes had acquired an establishment in that country, he basely assassinated him*.

Soliman, having left a deputy to govern Orissa, returned, A.D. 1568-9. in 976, to his capital. In the following year he invaded and plundered the district of Couch Beyhar; but was recalled from thence, by intelligence that the people of Orissa had risen and driven away his governor. Upon his return to Tondah, he detached a force to recover his authority in Orissa; and having effected this point, he afterwards limited his ambition to the security and improvement of his dominions.

* See History of Hindoostan, vol. II. p. 197.

SECT. V.

Although Soliman insisted upon his courtiers addressing him by the title of "Your Majesty," he never assumed the umbrella, or other insignia of royalty: and as he continued from time to time to send presents to the Emperor Akbar, and affected to hold his dominions of that monarch, he, by this politic conduct, enjoyed a quiet and peaceable reign, and died at his new capital in the year 981, much regretted by his subjects, and highly respected by all his contemporaries. A. D. 1573.

## DAOOD KHAN.

*Daood Khan assumes independence, and proceeds to hostilities with the Emperor Akbar—Treaty concluded, with which Daood is dissatisfied, and puts his General to death—Siege of Patna—Hajypore taken by assault—Daood pusillanimously flies from Patna, and its garrison is destroyed—Retreats with his treasure to Orissa—Partial successes of the Afghans—Daood concentrates his forces at Cuttack—After a hard-fought battle, retreats to the fort of Cuttack—Throws himself on the Emperor's clemency—Swears allegiance, and obtains the province of Orissa—Monaim Khan removes the seat of government from Tondah to Gour—Dreadful pestilence at Gour—Daood, on the death of Monaim Khan, raises an army of Afghans, and recovers Bengal—Made prisoner, and put to death—Conclusion of the Afghan (commonly called Patan) Sovereignty.*

Upon the death of Soliman Kerany, his eldest son, Bayezid, assumed the reins of government; but the Afghan chiefs, being dissatisfied with him, in a few months put him to death, and raised to the throne Daood Khan, the second son.

This prince, who was addicted to wine and bad company, forsook the prudent measures of his father; and assuming all the insignia of royalty, ordered the Khutbeh† to be proclaimed

† A prayer for the reigning monarch, permitted only to be used for independent sovereigns.

SECT. V. A. D. 1573.

in his own name through all the towns of Bengal and Behar; and directed the coin to be stampt with his own title; thus completely setting at defiance the authority of the Emperor Akbar.

Shortly after Daood Khan's succession, he inspected the public treasure, which he found to be immense. He also ordered a general muster to be taken of his army and war establishment, which is said to have consisted of 40,000 well-mounted cavalry; 140,000 infantry, of different descriptions; 20,000 pieces of cannon of various calibres; 3,600 elephants; and several hundred war-boats. With such a force he thought himself equal to contend with the Emperor Akbar; and, upon some slight pretence, ordered a force to march into the Moghul territories, and to take possession of the fort of Zemanieh, situated on the southern bank of the Ganges, a little above Ghazypore, which a few years before had been erected by Khan Zeman, the Imperial captain-general, as a frontier garrison.

Daood proceeds to hostilities with the Emperor Akbar.

When intelligence of this event reached the Emperor, who was at that time in Guzerat, he determined upon annexing Bengal to the Imperial dominions, and sent immediate orders to Monaim Khan, his general, commanding in the province of Joanpore, to assemble an army and invade Behar. This mandate was quickly carried into execution, and a powerful Moghul army advanced to the vicinity of Patna. There they were opposed by Lody Khan, the Generalissimo and Prime-minister of Daood Khan; and after some skirmishing, a truce was concluded; the articles of which were, that, upon condition of the Moghuls retiring from Behar, the King of Bengal should pay the sum of two lacs (200,000) of rupees, in ready money, to the Imperial treasury; and should present the Emperor

with silks, muslins, and other productions of Bengal, to the amount of 100,000 rupees more.

Daood Khan, when freed from the apprehension of the invading foe, affected to find fault with Lody Khan's conduct in this transaction; and, shortly after his return, imprisoned him, confiscated all his wealth, and put him to death.

The Emperor Akbar was also displeased with his General for granting such easy terms to the enemy, and appointed Raja Todermul to supersede him in the command of the troops destined to the conquest of Bengal. In the mean time, Monaim Khan, the Moghul general, informed of the conduct of the King of Bengal, and of the displeasure of the Emperor, returned with rapid strides to Patna, and laid siege, in the early part of the year 982, to that city.

Siege of Patna, A. D. 1574.

Daood Khan, after a slight attempt to repulse the enemy, took post with some of his most select troops within the fortifications; and, by his example and precept, stimulated the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity: in short, after besieging the city of Patna for several months, the Moghul General was obliged to wait the arrival of the Emperor; who, having proceeded by water from Agra, arrived with a numerous army in the vicinity of Patna on the 16th of the month Rubby Assany, 982; and on the following day, after reconnoitring the fort from a lofty mound, called *Punj-paharry* (or the Five Hills), gave orders for its closer investiture.

The Emperor, having obtained intelligence that the besieged received constant supplies of provisions from Hajypore, situated on the opposite bank of the Ganges, sent a chosen detachment of 3000 men, furnished with scaling ladders, &c. under the command of Khan Alum, to attack that fortress;

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and Raja Gujety, a zemindar of that district, who had under his command a number of spearmen and irregular cavalry, and who had offered his services to the Emperor, was directed to co-operate with the Moghul general.

The attack was made in the most spirited manner, and was observed by the Emperor, by the means of a telescope, from a battery on the bank of the river; but as Futteh Khan, the Governor of Hajypore, defended himself with great resolution, the Imperial troops were nearly exhausted, when the Emperor despatched three large boats, filled with volunteers, to their assistance. Upon the arrival of this reinforcement, the Moghuls renewed their attack; and, after killing the Governor and the greater part of the garrison, carried the place.

Khan Alum, having succeeded in his enterprise, ordered the heads of the Governor and of all the slain to be put on board a boat, and sent to the Emperor; who immediately forwarded them to Daood Khan, with an insinuation, that such shortly would be his fate, unless he submitted to the Imperial arms. Daood Khan, who was naturally of a timid disposition, was so much affected by the sight of the heads of his brave troops, that he resolved to abandon Patna, and take refuge in Bengal. He, in consequence, embarked all his treasure and valuables, and in the middle of the night of the 21st of Rubby Assany,

A. D. 1574. A. H. 982, made his escape by means of quick-rowing boats.

The garrison, which consisted of above 20,000 men, finding themselves abandoned by their King, fled in all directions; and the roads were so crowded with horses, carriages, and elephants, that great numbers of the lower orders were trampled to death. To complete their misfortunes, the bridge over the river Poonpoon broke down; which gave the

Moghul cavalry an opportunity of coming up with the hindmost of them, and left them only the option of being hewn to pieces by the swords of their enemies, or of being drowned in the river.

The Moghuls pursued the remainder of the fugitives as far as Derriapore, nearly fifty miles from Patna, and seized upon 400 elephants and many other valuable articles.

The Emperor remained six days at Derriapore; and, previous to his leaving it, to return to Agra, appointed Monaim Khan, who also bore the lofty title of Khan Khan (Lord of Lords) to the government of Behar and Bengal; and in addition to the troops which that nobleman had previously with him, he ordered 10,000 chosen cavalry, under the command of Raja Todermul, to join him. He also presented him with all the boats and stores which were brought from Agra, and ordered him to pursue and extirpate Daood Khan and his adherents from those provinces.

Upon the arrival of Daood Khan at the pass of Terriagurhy, he stopt to examine the state of the fortifications; with which he was so well contented, that he told the garrison he depended upon their stopping the progress of his enemies for a year; and that at all events he expected they would defend themselves to the last extremity: after which he proceeded with a more tranquil mind to Tondah, his capital.

The hopes of the King were, however, much disappointed; for on the approach of the Imperial General, the Afghans, terrified by the horrid example made of the garrison of Hajypore, could not be brought to stand the assault, but shamefully took to flight; and Monaim Khan obtained possession of that important pass, the key of Bengal, without the loss of a man.

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When intelligence of this unexpected event reached Daood Khan, despairing of being able to contend with his adversaries, he loaded his treasure and valuable effects upon elephants, and took the route of Orissa.

Monaim Khan, not aware of the intentions of the King of Bengal, proceeded towards Tondah with much circumspection: but when his spies informed him that Daood Khan had again retreated, he advanced rapidly with his cavalry, and on
A. D. 1574. the 4th of Jummad Assany (5th month) 982, took possession of the capital of Bengal without opposition.

Some days after this event, the Imperial General despatched Raja Todermul, with a well-appointed army, in pursuit of the fugitive King; and at the same time detached Mujenun Khan Kakeshelan with a considerable force, to take possession of Ghoragot, the jagier or estate of Soliman Mungely, an Afghan chief of considerable consequence. But this measure was not so easily effected; for the Afghans, fighting in defence of their property and families, behaved with great courage, and slew a multitude of their enemies. At length, overpowered by numbers, they were nearly all extirpated, and their wives and children made captives.

Mujenun Khan confiscated all the Afghan estates, and divided them amongst his own dependants of the tribe of Kakeshelan; but encouraged his soldiers to unite themselves in marriage with the Afghan females, and took for his son the daughter of Soliman Mungely, the deceased chief.

The Raja Todermul having advanced to Medarun (Bheerbhoom), there received intelligence that Daood Khan had halted at Ryn Kesary, and, instead of continuing his retreat, was collecting his dispersed troops, with an intention of again

opposing the Imperial arms. This news compelled the Raja to halt, and to send off an express to Monaim Khan at Tondah. The Imperial Governor, immediately on receiving this unexpected intelligence, detached a second army, under the command of Mahmood Cooly Khan, to the assistance of the Raja; who, after the arrival of the reinforcement, proceeded to Gualior, which was twenty miles from Ryn Kesary. He there learned that Joneid, a cousin of the King of Bengal, who was celebrated for his courage and intrepidity, had arrived with a number of his followers at that place, on his way to join the King. The Raja, setting too little consequence on his enemy, ordered two brigades, under the command of Abul Cossim, to attack Joneid; but they were repulsed with much disgrace and slaughter, and the Raja was compelled to march with all his force to their assistance. The Afghans, unable to oppose such a number of enemies, dispersed themselves in the woods, and on the following day effected their junction with the King.

Immediately after this event, the pusillanimous Daood Khan again retreated; and the Moghul chiefs advanced to Midnapore, a town which has since given its name to the district formerly called Jellasir. At this place the Imperial army halted for some days; during which time Mohammed Cooly Khan died; and dissentions breaking out immediately after amongst the Moghul chiefs, the Raja Todermul, who was in fact an alien amongst them, and was always dubious of his own authority, having called a council of the principal officers of the army, determined to return to Burdwan, and there to wait for further instructions from the Governor-general.

When this disagreeable intelligence was communicated to

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Monaim Khan, he ordered a second reinforcement, under the command of some celebrated officers, to join the Raja, and made preparations to follow with all the Moghul forces that could possibly be spared from the defence and protection of the newly-conquered dominions.

The Raja, having been joined by the confederate forces, again advanced to Midnapore, and thence to Bukhtore. At the latter place he received information that the King of Bengal had retired with the whole of his forces to Cuttack Benaras, where he was resolved to defend himself to the last extremity.

This event caused the Raja again to halt, and wait the junction of the Governor-general; who, proceeding from Tondah by rapid marches, shortly united his forces with those of the Raja; and the whole of the Imperial army then advanced towards Cuttack.

A. D. 1574. On the 20th of the month Zykad (11th month) 982, the Moghuls came in sight of the Afghan camp, which was covered in front by strong entrenchments; but as Daood Khan had resolved to risk the fate of another battle, he drew out his army in front of the camp, and waited, with great determination, the attack of the enemy. The numbers on both sides were nearly equal; but the Afghans had two hundred furious elephants placed along their line, by whose strength they hoped to break through the squadrons of their opponents, and to clear a road for the more active operations of their cavalry.

On the other side, Monaim Khan had brought with him a number of swivels and small guns mounted upon carriages; much more dreadful in their effect than the charge of the huge animals.

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This battle was contended with greater obstinacy than had ever occurred between the two nations: for although the guns succeeded in putting the elephants to the route, and driving them back on their own line, yet the Afghan cavalry charged with such resolution, that the Moghul line was thrown into great confusion, their Commander-in-chief was wounded, and, his horse becoming unmanageable, he narrowly escaped being captured.

At length, Gujer Khan* and several of the best Afghan officers having fallen, Daood Khan was alarmed, and fled to the fort of Cuttack, leaving his camp to be plundered by the enemy.

The Moghuls, although victors, had suffered so much in this engagement, that they did not pursue the fugitives, but halted five days on the field of battle, to bury their dead, and to arrange plans for sending away their wounded. They afterwards proceeded, by easy stages, till they reached the banks of the Mahanuddy, one mile from Cuttack, where they encamped, and commenced making preparations for the siege of the fort.

Daood Khan, now driven to the extremity of his dominions, and aware that Cuttack was his last stake, was much alarmed for the consequence; and, by the advice of his counsellors, resolved to throw himself upon the clemency of the victors. He therefore sent an ambassador to the Imperial General, who represented that it was contrary to every principle of religion for the followers of Mohammed to extirpate their brethren; and that it would well accord with the Emperor's liberality, to allow his master to retain a small portion of his former domi-

* There is a tradition that one of the Afghan Emperors ennobled all his countrymen in Hindoostan; in consequence of which, every person of that nation now assumes the title of Khan (Lord).

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nions, in which he and his adherents might pass their lives in peace and quietness, and be numbered amongst the Imperial servants.

The eloquence of the ambassador, and the justness of his representation, together with a wish of terminating the war, induced Monaim Khan to accede to the proposal; and he agreed, that if Daood Khan would in person make the request, he would comply with his wishes, and strongly recommend his case to the consideration of the Emperor.

On the following day, Daood Khan, attended by several of his chiefs, left the fort, and was received in the Moghul camp with every mark of respect and attention. The troops were drawn out to salute him; and all the chiefs, seated, according to their rank, in the tent of audience, waited his approach. When he arrived at the bounds of the camp, he was met by several officers; and as he approached the place of interview, Monaim Khan advanced a considerable distance to embrace him.

Daood Khan was highly gratified by these marks of kindness; and unbuckling his sword, gave it to the General, saying, "As my opposition has been the cause of such a friend being wounded, I henceforward relinquish the title of a soldier." Monaim Khan took his hand, and led him to the seat of honour. After a short time, an elegant entertainment was brought in; and the King having feasted, the subject of the treaty was introduced.

Daood Khan swears allegiance to the Emperor.

The King swore by every thing that was sacred, if the Emperor would make a proper provision for him, he would continue, during his life, one of his most faithful subjects; and would never, in any manner, aid or abet his enemies. This declaration having been committed to writing, was signed and

sealed by the King: after which the General rose from his seat, and, presenting him with a rich and valuable scimitar, said, "As you are now become one of the servants of the illustrious "Emperor of Hindoostan, in his name I present you with this "sword, which I request you will use in his service and de- "fence: and in order that you may wear it with proper dignity "and effect, I bestow on you, in his Majesty's name, the pro- "vince of Orissa in free gift; not doubting but that you will "henceforward prove yourself a faithful and loyal subject." SECT. V. A.D. 1574.

After this conversation, many costly presents were brought in by the attendants, and laid before the King; who having signified his acceptance in the usual manner, took his leave, and was attended to the bounds of the camp with the same ceremonies as he entered it.

Monaim Khan, being anxious to return to the seat of government, marched on the following day; and on the 18th of the month Suffer (2d month), 983, triumphantly entered Tondah. During his absence, the Afghans of Ghoragot had risen, and, having driven away their new governor, Mujenun Khan, had extended their depredations as far as Gour; but on the approach of the Imperial army, they dispersed, and concealed themselves in the woods, to wait for a more favourable opportunity. A.D. 1575.

The seat of government removed from Tondah to Gour.

Monaim Khan, having heard much of the ancient and desolate city of Gour, went to view it; and was so much delighted with the situation, and its many princely edifices, that he resolved again to render it the seat of government. To effect this plan, although it was then the season of the rains, he ordered the troops and all the public officers to remove from Tondah to Gour. Whether owing to the

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Dreadful pestilence at Gour.

dampness of the soil, the badness of the water, or the corrupted state of the air, a pestilence very shortly broke out amongst the troops and inhabitants. Thousands died every day; and the living, tired with burying the dead, threw them into the river, without distinction of Hindoo or Mohammedan. The Governor became sensible of his error, but it was too late. He was himself seized with the contagion, and at the end of ten days bade adieu to this transitory world. This event occurred in the month Rugib, 7th month, A. H. 983.

A. D. 1575.

Monaim Khan was a nobleman highly respected, and held the titles of Amyr al Omrah, and Sepah Salar, for fourteen years. During his government of Joanpore, he expended much money on public buildings; and the celebrated bridge at that city still stands, a monument of his magnificence, and of the skill of the architect*. As he died without heirs, his immense wealth became the property of the crown.

The Afghans, under Daood Khan, recover Bengal.

The death of Monaim Khan served as a signal for a general insurrection of the Afghans. They assembled from all quarters; and Daood Khan, the deposed king, forgetting his oath of allegiance to the Emperor, placing himself again at their head, they quickly compelled the Moghuls, then commanded by Shahem Khan Jellair, to retire from Bengal, and to take refuge in Hajypore and Patna.

As soon as intelligence of the death of Monaim Khan reached the Imperial court, the Emperor appointed Hussein

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* In the year 1773, a brigade of British troops, under the command of Sir R. Barker, in their return from Oude, having embarked on the river Goompty, at Sultanpore, in the height of the rainy season, sailed over this bridge, which suffered no damage from the violence of the current, although the bottom of the river is, in other places, covered with shifting sands.

Cooly Khan, then governor of the Punjab, to the government of Bengal, with the title of Khan Jehan: but the principal part of that chief's forces being in the district of Lahore, several months elapsed before he could reach Bengal, during which period the Afghans increased in number and strength. Thus Daood Khan found himself again at the head of a formidable army of 50,000 horse: and had these troops been possessed of that bravery which has been often evinced by the Afghan nation, the Emperor Akbar would have found it one of his most arduous undertakings to extirpate them from a country possessing such natural advantages. SECT. V.

Early in the year 984, the new governor, who during his march had been joined by all the expelled Moghuls, came in front of the pass of Terriagurhy, which he found was garrisoned by 3000 chosen Afghans. He hesitated not to attack the entrenchments, and, by superiority of courage and numbers, succeeded in getting possession of them, at the expence of the lives of many of his men; for, on this occasion, the Afghans fought with great spirit, and the major proportion of the garrison fell in the contest. A. D. 1576.

The King of Bengal had taken post, with the greater part of his army, in the strong situation of Agmahel (now called Rajemahel), protected on one flank by the mountains, and on the other by the river Ganges. In this position he defended himself for several months, till the Moghul governor, having been reinforced by the Imperial troops of Patna, Tirhoot, and other places, on the 10th of Rubby al Akhir (4th month), 984, made a general assault upon the Afghan lines; and by the assistance of some artillery, sent by water from Agra, succeeded in forcing them. Joneid Kerany, the cousin of Daood A. D. 1576.

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Khan, upon whom the Afghans had great dependence, and several other generals, were killed or wounded by cannon balls; and the troops, terrified by the dreadful effects of these weapons, took to flight, and left their King a prisoner in the hands of his enemies.

Made prisoner, and put to death.

When Daood Khan was brought before the Moghul Governor, he was upbraided with his perfidy to the Emperor; and having little to say in his defence, he was condemned as a rebel, and his head sent by an express messenger to Agra. This event occurred in the year 984, being the 20th year of the reign of the Emperor Akbar.

A. D. 1576.

Conclusion of the Afghan Sovereignty.

With Daood Khan terminated the line of Bengal Kings, who had reigned in succession over that country for 236 years; and with him was brought to a conclusion the sovereignty of the *Afghan nation over that province, of which they had held the uncontrouled possession for nearly four centuries.

The government of the Afghans in Bengal cannot be said to have been monarchical, but nearly resembled the feudal system introduced by the Goths and Vandals into Europe. Bukhtyar Khulijy and the succeeding conquerors made choice of a certain district as their own domain: the other districts were assigned to the inferior chiefs, who subdivided the lands amongst their petty commanders, each of whom maintained a certain number of soldiers, composed principally of their relations or dependants; these persons however did not cultivate the soil themselves, but each officer was the landlord of a small estate,

* The Afghan is generally called the Patan empire; but the latter word is unknown to the present Afghans, and is not, I believe, used by any of the ancient historians.

having under him a certain number of *Hindoo* tenants, to whom, from the principle of self-interest, he conducted himself with justice and moderation: and had it not been for the frequent change of masters, and constant scenes of rebellion and invasion, in which private property was little regarded, the cultivators of the soil would have been placed in a state of comparative happiness; and agriculture would have flourished, as it subsequently did in another part of India, under the government of their countrymen, the Rohillas.

The condition of the upper classes of Hindoos must, doubtless, have been much deteriorated; but it is probable that many of the Afghan officers, averse to business, or frequently called away from their homes to attend their chiefs, farmed out their estates to the opulent Hindoos, who were also permitted to retain the advantages of manufactures and commerce.

The authority of the Afghan kings of Bengal depended much upon their personal ability and conduct. We have seen them, on some occasions, acting as despotic sovereigns; at other times possessing little or no influence beyond the town or city in which they resided,—often insulted, and even murdered, by their menial servants.

## SECT. VI.

### *Governors under the Moghul Dynasty*.*

#### HUSSEIN COOLY KHAN, KHAN JEHAN.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1576. AFTER the victory at Agmahel (Rajemahel), Khan Jehan collected all the plunder and elephants of the Afghan camp, and sent them, under the charge of Raja Todermul, to the presence of the Emperor Akbar. He then detached a large force, under Muzuffir Khan, to pursue the fugitives, who had taken refuge in the hilly districts of Behar, with orders, after having extirpated them, to lay siege to the fort of Rhotas. These services were A. D. 1578. ably performed by Muzuffir Khan; and in the year 986, after a blockade of many months, that impregnable fortress was delivered up, by capitulation, to the Imperial arms. The Governor also sent a considerable force into Orissa, to seize the family and remaining property of Daood Khan; which being effected, he, in the same year, compelled the Raja of Cooch Behar to pay a tribute, and to acknowledge himself a vassal of the empire.

* For the history of the Moghuls, the reader is referred to the Life of Baber, in Dow's Hindoostan; and if he wishes for further information, to Gibbon's Roman Empire, under the article Zingis Khan.

Khan Jehan employed himself with much perseverance and fidelity to regulate his government; and before his death, which happened in the vicinity of Tondah, in the end of the year 986, the whole of the provinces of Behar, Bengal, and Orissa, including Cuttack, were again annexed to the empire of Hindoostan. SECT. VI. A. D. 1578.

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## MUZUFFIR KHAN TIRBUTTY.

*Muzuffir Khan appointed Governor of Bengal—In consequence of regulations in the financial system, the Moghul Chiefs of Bengal rebel, and take possession of Gour—The Chiefs of Behar afterwards mutiny for the same reason, and, uniting with those of Bengal, lay siege to Tondah, which they take, and murder the Governor.*

When intelligence of the death of Khan Jehan reached the Emperor, he was much affected, and sent letters of condolence and honorary dresses to the brother and relations of the deceased. But as it was requisite that an officer of known courage and tried abilities should be immediately appointed to that important government, to prevent any insurrection of the Afghans, an express was sent, early in the year 987, to A. D. 1579. Muzuffir Khan, the conqueror of Rhotas, nominating him Governor-general of the three provinces; but in order to give him more leisure to attend to his military and political duties, his Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint Rai Putter Doss, and Meer Adhum, to be joint-superintendants of the revenue; Rizvy Khan to be paymaster-general; and Abul Futteh to be supreme judge. The effects of this arrangement were shortly evinced; for although no revenue had been remitted from Bengal by the former governor, under pretence that

SECT. VI. A. D. 1579.

the great military establishment had absorbed the whole, Muzuffir Khan, in the first year, sent to court five lacs of rupees in specie, a number of elephants, and a large collection of the valuable manufactures and natural productions of that country.

It has been before stated, that when, in the year 982, Monaim Khan had taken possession of the capital of Bengal, he detached Mujenun Khan Kakeshelan to take possession of Ghoragot; and that the said chief, having performed the service, immediately divided the jagiers or estates of the Afghans amongst his own followers.

This system of military service was perfectly congenial to the wishes of the Moghuls; and every chief, in succession, established himself and his dependants in the district to which he had been first appointed: and the late governor, Khan Jehan, being only solicitous about extirpating the Afghans, allowed them to continue in undisturbed possession. But when the new system of finance was introduced by the Emperor Akbar, the Governor was directed to call upon these officers for the muster-returns of their brigades, and to demand from them the balance of revenue exceeding the amount required for the regular payment of the army. He was further ordered frequently to change the jagiers, to prevent the troops establishing themselves in any one place.

The first persons to whom these orders were communicated, were, Khaledy Khan, who had obtained possession of Jellasore, and Baba Khan, who had succeeded to the command of the clan of Kakeshelan in Ghoragot. These chiefs remonstrated strongly against the orders; but the Governor continuing unmoved by their solicitations, they shaved their heads, and,

having put on mourning, declared they would part with their jagiers only with their lives.

They then crossed the river, and, having taken possession of the city of Gour, sent expresses to their adherents, to join them with all possible despatch, and to seize upon any of the Imperial treasure which they might find in the districts through which they passed.

The Governor, much alarmed at these proceedings, secured all the boats on the western side of the river, and endeavoured to collect a body of troops on which he might depend. In the mean time, the Emperor, having been informed of the mutiny, and apprehensive lest it might become general throughout the army, sent an order to the Governor, reprimanding him for the harshness of his conduct, panegyrising the former fidelity and attachment of the tribe of Kakeshelan, and assuring the mutineers of the Imperial forgiveness if they would return to their allegiance and duty.

However hurt the feelings of the Governor might be at the receipt of this order, he immediately forwarded it to the rebels, who, pretending implicit obedience to the Imperial mandate, only requested that the Governor would send to them Rizvy Khan, the paymaster-general, and Putter Doss, the superintendant of the revenue, to assure them of his forgiveness and reconciliation; but no sooner had these officers crossed the river, than they were thrown into confinement, and the rebels became more unreasonable in their demands.

At the same time that the alteration had taken place in the financial system of Bengal, a separate paymaster-general, and superintendant of revenue, had been appointed to the province of Behar; and these officers, having also endeavoured to carry

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A. D. 1579. the military commanders: the troops in Behar rose in arms, and, placing Masoom Cabuly at their head, put the superintendant of the revenue to death, and caused the paymaster to flee. They afterwards advanced to Terriagurhy, and, having forced the pass, effected a junction with the mutineers of Bengal.

The rebels then laid siege to Tondah; the fortifications of which being very weak, and the garrison every day deserting to the enemy, the Governor was compelled to yield without any conditions. He was immediately murdered, and all his wealth plundered by the insurgents. Having discovered, amongst the state prisoners, a nobleman, named Sief Addeen Hussein, who had been banished to Bengal by the Emperor, the insurgents released him, and dignified him with the title of Generalissimo.

By this unexpected and strange event, the provinces of Behar and Bengal were again torn from the hands of the Emperor; and Akbar had now to contend against 30,000 cavalry of his own nation and subjects, and for a cause in which he could not hope for the cordial co-operation of his army. This event
A. D. 1580. occurred in the year 988. The historians of Akbar have endeavoured to throw the blame of this rebellion upon the Governor, who, in fact, appears merely to have obeyed the orders of his court.

SECT. VI.

## RAJA TODERMUL.

*The Emperor appoints Raja Todermul to the command of an army against the Rebel Chiefs—Great influence of the Raja over the Hindoos—Prevails on the Zemindars not to supply the Rebel army with provisions, by which its leaders are obliged to separate—Restores Behar to the Imperial authority—Complains to the Emperor of the misconduct of the Vizier, who is in consequence deposed—Succeeds in quelling a rebellion in Oude—The Emperor supersedes him in his command, and appoints Aazim Khan, governor of Behar, to the united government of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.*

WHEN intelligence of these untoward occurrences reached Agra, the Emperor, fearing to trust any of his Moghul officers, assigned the command of a numerous army to the Hindoo Raja Todermul; and gave him a commission, authorising him to call upon all the governors, jagierdars, zemindars, &c. upon his route, to join him, and co-operate with him in subduing the rebels. A. D. 1580.

When the Raja arrived at Joanpore, the Governor, Mohammed Masoom Ferunjudy, a Moghul officer, came out to meet him, and displayed to him a corps of 3000 chosen cavalry, all in complete armour, with which he offered to join the Imperial troops. Although the Raja perceived that he was a vain young man, full of his own consequence, and upon whom little dependance could be placed, he nevertheless thought it better to take with him so suspected a character, than to leave him with such a force in the rear of his army: he therefore accepted his offer, and, by flattery and attention, endeavoured to attach him to the royal cause.

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The political conduct of Akbar, in employing the Hindoo chiefs, was attended with the most salutary effects: they were always accompanied by a large body, either of their own clan, or of Rajepoots (the military tribe), who not only served to support the Moghul troops, now inadequate to retain in subjection so extended an empire, but were also useful as a check upon the latter, when refractory or dissatisfied.

A. D. 1580.

The Raja continued his march without opposition till he reached Mongeir, in the month of Jemmad al Akher, 988. Here he learned that the rebel army, consisting of 30,000 cavalry, were encamped at Bhâgalpore, thirty-eight miles to the southward of Mongeir, waiting to give him battle. As it is a system of the Hindoos never to risk the fate of a general engagement, except in cases of extreme necessity, the Raja took possession of Mongeir, and employed his troops in constructing additional lines, extending to the hills, which, with the fort, completely covered the front of his army. This precaution was not unnecessary; for in a few days two of his Moghul chiefs, with their corps, deserted to the enemy. Both armies remained in this situation for several months, and frequent skirmishes took place between their light troops. At length the Raja, by his influence amongst the Hindoo zemindars, prevailed upon them no longer to supply the rebels with provisions; promising to pay them ready money for every thing they brought to his camp: this he was enabled to do by the attention of the Emperor, who sent him 500,000 rupees, in specie, by post. The combined effects of similarity of religion and ready-money payments worked so effectually on the zemindars, that famine shortly found its way into the rebel camp, and compelled the chiefs to separate, in order

to obtain food. The distress of the rebels was further increased at this time by the death of Baba Khan, the chief of the Kakeshelans. SECT. VI.

Masoom Cabuly proceeded to Behar. Jebbaburdy, who had succeeded to the command of the Kakeshelans, returned to Khuaspore Tondah; and Arab Behadur made a sudden march, by a circuitous route, on Patna, in hopes of surprising that city, which was only garrisoned by a small party of loyalists.

The Raja, having obtained accurate intelligence of their proceedings, sent a chosen detachment to reinforce Patna, and proceeded with the main body of his army towards Behar. When arrived within one march of that city, the rebels made an attack by night upon his army, in hopes of taking him by surprise; but they met with so warm a reception, that, after losing a number of their men, they were compelled to retreat; and as the fortifications of Behar could afford them no security, they abandoned that province, and continued their route to Bengal. Thus, by the prudent and political measures of the Raja, the province of Behar was, in the first campaign, restored to the Imperial authority.

The Raja cantoned his army, during the rainy season of 988, in the vicinity of Hajypore; and wrote to the Em- A.D. 1580.
peror, that the Vizier Shah Munsoor had caused a great defection in his army, by calling on several of the chiefs who accompanied him, to account for balances due by them in their former commands: that such conduct, at a time when defection was so general amongst the troops, was in the highest degree impolitic, and, if persevered in, must, by disuniting the army, tend to the ruin of the Imperial affairs: he

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further added, that, in consequence of the demand made on Masoom Ferunjudy, he had been obliged to allow him to return with his troops to his government of Joanpore, not without suspicions that his intentions were disloyal.

The representations of the Raja were so sensibly felt by the Emperor, that he immediately deposed the Vizier: and, as the throne of Akbar was at no period so shaken as by the rebellion here described, the Emperor found himself under the necessity of begging the services of old omrahs who were in disgrace, or had retired from the court in disgust. Aazim Khan Mirza Koke, a nobleman of great repute, was requested to take the command of 5000 horse, and to proceed, as Governor, to Behar. The Emperor went himself to the house of Shereif Khan Atke, and, having conferred on him an honorary dress, invited him to return to court, and assist him with his counsels.

In order to reconcile Masoom Ferunjudy, he was promoted to the government of Oude; and Tersoom Khan, another of the dissatisfied generals in Raja Todermul's army, was appointed to Joanpore. The former accepted of the appointment, but, soon after his arrival in Oude, raised the standards of rebellion. The Governor of Joosy and Priag, now called Allahabad, having also rebelled, Raja Todermul was obliged to detach part of his army, under the command of Shahbaz Khan, to assist in quelling the disturbances in Oude. This important service was effected in the last month of the year
A. D. 1581. 988, by the complete overthrow of Masoom Ferunjudy, and the capture of his family and all his wealth.

It may appear extraordinary, that a prince possessed of so much bravery and activity as the Emperor Akbar should not

have placed himself at the head of the army, to put down so serious a rebellion; but, upon a reference to the History of Hindoostan, it will be found, that his attention was at the same time distracted by disturbances in Malwa and Guzerat; and that his own brother, Mirza Mohammed Hakeem, meditated an invasion of Hindoostan from Cabul. A. D. 1581.

Aazim Khan, having arrived with his army at Behar, endeavoured, more by reconciliation than by force, to bring the rebels back to their duty; but, failing in success, he proceeded, in the year 990, to Agra, to meet the Emperor after his return from Cabul, and there laid before his Majesty a full and melancholy statement of the eastern provinces. A. D. 1582.

The Emperor, having taken into mature deliberation the dangerous state of Bengal, and the evil consequences of divided authority, superseded Raja Todermul, and appointed Aazim Khan, whose title was now changed to Khan Aazim, to the united government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. He, at the same time, commanded all the troops at the capital, which had not been on the expedition to Cabul, to attend the new Governor, and firmly to re-establish the Imperial authority in those provinces.

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## KHAN AAZIM MIRZA KOKE.

*Khan Aazim, by sowing dissention among the Rebel Chiefs, succeeds in re-establishing the Royal authority in Bengal, and takes quiet possession of Tondah—Solicits the Emperor's permission to resign his government—The Afghans, under Cuttulu Khan, having extended themselves in considerable force over Orissa, Khan Aazim deputes Fereed Addeen Bokhary to conclude a truce with them—Fereed gives offence to one of the Afghan commanders, and hastily retires, losing several of his people*

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*on his return—The Imperial troops advancing to resent the insult offered to their ambassador, the Afghans retreat to their forests—Khan Aazim returns to Agra, and resigns his employment.*

It would be tedious to narrate the various rencounters between the rebels and the loyal troops, or to detail the numerous stratagems and intrigues by which the new Governor attempted to recover the royal authority: it may suffice to say, that the success of Khan Aazim was greater than the apparent means he possessed. Having, by bribery and skilful agents, sown dissention among the rebel chiefs, the tribe of Kakeshelan submitted to his authority*; and the followers of Masoom Cabuly forsaking him, he was obliged to seek refuge with some of the zemindars, who had taken pity on his deplorable situation. In short, Khan Aazim, before
A.D. 1582. the end of the year 990, obtained quiet possession of the city of Tondah, the capital of Bengal, and once more re-established the Imperial authority over that country; but being afraid of the unhealthiness of the climate, and desirous of returning to his family, he requested that a successor might be immediately appointed.

During the revolt of the Moghul troops, the scattered Afghans had again collected in Orissa, under the command of

* It is probable that Khan Aazim restored to them their lands on certain conditions; as Dr. F. Buchanan, who has been lately employed by the Bengal government in taking a statistical survey of the country on the north-east of the river Ganges, was surprised at the number of Mohammedans which he found in those districts. These are, in all likelihood, the descendants of the Afghans and Kakeshelans, softened, in the course of two centuries, by intermixture with the Hindoos; for, besides the children which they had by Hindoo women, they used to purchase a number of boys during a scarcity, and educate them in the Mussulman religion. These boys, and all other converts, were allowed to take the Arabian title of Shaikh; and the posterity of these are, perhaps, now more numerous than the genuine descendants of the stock to which they all ascribe their origin.

a chief named Cuttulu Khan; and, having taken complete possession of that province, they extended their dominion over the districts of Midnapore and Bissuntpore, leaving the river Dummooda as the barrier between them and the Moghuls.

As soon as Khan Aazim had taken possession of Bengal, his attention was directed towards these troublesome neighbours; and, in the year 991, he sent a considerable army to A. D. 1583. expel them from those districts; but the chief to whom he entrusted the command of the expedition, not feeling himself sufficiently powerful to repel the Afghans by force, deputed the celebrated Fereed Addeen Bokhary, author of the History of the Emperor Jehangire, who held a considerable command in the Imperial army, to conclude a truce with Cuttulu Khan.

Fereed proceeded from Burdwan with an escort of three hundred chosen horse, and was met at the distance of four miles from Khoram by Cuttulu Khan. Both parties alighted from their horses, and having embraced, again mounted, and proceeded towards the fort, on the outside of which Cuttulu Khan had pitched a suite of tents, and prepared a grand entertainment for the ambassador.

Previous to the commencement of the feast, the Afghan chief introduced one of his commanders, named Behadur Khan, to the ambassador; but the latter, who prided himself on being a descendant of the Arabian Prophet, did not receive him with sufficient respect; on which the revengeful Afghan retired in disgust from the company, and gave orders to his adherents to be prepared to retaliate the insult. This was overheard by some of the followers of the ambassador, who communicated their suspicions to their master that treachery was intended. Fereed immediately took the hint, and, under pretence of sudden indisposition, requested leave to return to his own camp.

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He was permitted to depart by Cuttulu Khan, who, being probably ignorant of the circumstances, had no intention of injuring him: but shortly afterwards he was attacked by Behadur Khan, and many of his people killed.

This transaction threw a great stigma on the Afghans, and incensed the Moghul General, who immediately advanced from Burdwan, and compelled Cuttulu Khan to take refuge in the forests. But as Khan Aazim was at that period preparing to leave Bengal, and several of the chiefs who had come with him from Agra were anxious to accompany him back, they refused to pursue the Afghans into Orissa, and the whole army returned to Tondah.

Khan Aazim having settled the affairs of Bengal and Behar, resigned his employment, and arrived at Agra in the month of
A. D. 1584. Rubby al Avul (3d month of the year 992), and was most graciously received by the Emperor, who personally thanked him for his services.

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## SHAHBAZ KHAN KUMBO.

THIS chief had taken a very active part in the war of Bengal; and upon the rebellion of Masoom Ferunjudy, he was detached by Raja Todermul in pursuit of the rebel. He engaged him in the city of Oude; and, having entirely routed him, compelled him to seek refuge with the Rajas of the mountains, whose territories border on Oude. After this signal service, he rejoined the Raja's army at Hajypore, where he was again usefully employed.

After Khan Aazim had assumed the command of the Imperial army, Shahbaz Khan was detached, with several other chiefs to ravage the estates of the Kakeshelans in Ghoragot;

which having effected, he subdued the country as far as the banks of the Burhampooter.

In reward for these services, the Emperor was pleased to appoint him to succeed to the government of Behar and Bengal, upon the resignation of Khan Aazim; but so invidious was that office now held, that Shahbaz Khan declined the honour, and had actually proceeded as far as Joanpore, on his way to Agra, when he was met by a special messenger, commanding him to return and assume the government, under the pain of his Majesty's displeasure.

Shahbaz Khan, having returned to Bengal, experienced much difficulty in adjusting the affairs of that kingdom: the tribe of Kakeshelan, and the adherents of the other rebels, were still possessed of so much influence, that he found it impossible, or at least dangerous, to re-assume their jagiers. He therefore permitted them to retain quiet possession: and from the same motives was induced to enter into a treaty with Cuttulu Khan, the chief of the Afghans; relinquishing to them the province of Orissa, on condition that they should retire from Bengal, and refrain from further invasion.

These acts of the new Governor were not approved of at court: he was suspected of having received large sums of money for these concessions. He was therefore ordered, in the year 995, to deliver over the government to Vizier Khan Herevy, and to repair to Agra; where, upon his arrival, he was put into close imprisonment, and was not liberated for three years.

Vizier Khan Herevy appointed Governor, A. D. 1587.

Vizier Khan Herevy did not long enjoy his new dignity. He died the same year, at Tondah, without having effected any alteration in the system of his predecessor.

## RAJA KENORE MAN SING, OF ABNYR

*Mān Sing appointed Governor of Behar and Bengal—Subdues the Zemindar of Hajypore—Unsuccessful attempt to recover Orissa—His son, Juggut Sing, taken prisoner by the Afghans—Makes a temporary peace with them—The Afghans seize on the Temple of Jagernaut—The Raja obtains a decisive victory over them, and annexes Orissa to the Imperial dominions—Fixes on Agmahel (Rajemahel) for his capital of the three provinces—The Afghans again rebel, and enter Bengal—Peace restored—Sultan Khusero appointed nominal Governor of Orissa—The Raja of Couch Beyhar visits Bengal—The Governor accompanies the Emperor in an expedition against the Dekkan; on which the Afghans again invade Bengal, and obtain possession of great part of the kingdom—Mān Sing returns, and defeats the Afghans in a desperate battle—Resigns his government—Cause of his resignation—Attempts to raise his Son-in-law, the Emperor's grandson, to the Imperial throne—His conduct forgiven—Re-appointed Governor of Bengal; but soon afterwards recalled to Court.*

WHEN intelligence of the death of Vizier Khan reached the Imperial court, which at that period was in the Punjab, the Emperor Akbar was pleased to bestow the government of Behar and Bengal on Raja Mān Sing, whose sister was married to the Prince Selim (afterwards Emperor, under the title of Jehangire); but as the Raja was then employed against the Afghans of Paishawur, orders were sent to Sayid Khan, who commanded at Patna, to assume the government till the arrival of the Raja, to whom instructions were also given to proceed to Bengal with all possible despatch.

A. D. 1589. Mān Sing arrived at Patna in the year 997. Here he learned, that Poorun Mull Khedurye, zemindar of Hajypore,

had taken advantage of the disturbances in that country, in order to amass considerable wealth; and that, having collected a numerous army, he had assumed a degree of influence incompatible with his situation. On this account, the Raja, being resolved to subdue the spirit of insurrection which had so long disturbed the quiet of the Eastern provinces, immediately marched his army into the territories of the Zemindar, and compelled him to take refuge in his fort; whence Poorun Mull, intimidated by the number of the Imperial forces, sent a most humble message, offering to disband his army, to pay a large sum of money, and to give up all his elephants, provided the Raja would pardon him, and allow him to retain his zemindary.

These terms were acceded to by the Raja, who immediately forwarded the elephants and money, by one of his agents, to court. This event was considered as an auspicious omen by the Emperor, who for a considerable time had received only mortifying intelligence from Bengal; and an honorary dress and congratulatory letter were sent to the Raja.

Some of the Moghul officers in Ghoragot, having extended the hand of rapine over the district of Jessore, the Raja sent his son, Juggut Sing, to punish them. The Moghul chiefs, unable to oppose the Imperial army, dispersed, and concealed themselves in the woods; but Juggut Sing seized their granaries, and fifty-four elephants, the latter of which were immediately forwarded to court.

Mān Sing having an unfavourable opinion of the climate of Bengal, continued to reside in Behar, and allowed Sayid Khan to remain as his deputy at Tondah.

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About this period, the Raja caused the important fortress of Rhotas to be put into complete repair; and added to the fortifications a lofty stone gateway, part of which is still standing. He also erected a house for his own occasional residence, deepened and repaired the reservoirs of water, and laid out a handsome garden in the Persian style.

A.D.1589-90.

In the year 998, the Raja planned an expedition for the recovery of Orissa out of the hands of the Afghans. Having assembled the troops of Behar, at Bhâgalpore, he marched through the western hills to Burdwan; but, previous to his setting out, he had ordered Sayid Khan to march with the troops of Bengal by the route of Cutwa, and to form a junction with him at Burdwan. Upon his arrival at this place, he received an apology from his deputy, stating, that he had experienced so much difficulty and delay in equipping his army, he was afraid the rainy season would set in before any thing could be effected against the Afghans; and therefore strongly advised the Raja to canton his army till the conclusion of the rains, when he would immediately join him. The Raja was much disappointed at this intelligence; but seeing no remedy, he directed cantonments to be built for the army at Jehanabad, on the banks of the Dalkisor river, not many miles distant from the present Calcutta.

Whilst the royal army was in this situation, waiting the junction of the Deputy Governor of Bengal, Cuttulu Khan ordered a division of his troops to advance to Dherpore, which was within fifty miles of Jehanabad, and to plunder the country in that vicinity. To put a stop to the ravages of the Afghans, the Raja detached his son, Juggut Sing, who compelled them to retire, and to take refuge under the guns of a fort; a number

of which had been constructed in different parts of that country. At this place they pretended to enter into a negotiation, whilst they were in daily expectation of a reinforcement from Cuttulu Khan. The young Raja was deceived by their artifices; and as soon as the additional force arrived, the Afghans made an attack upon him by night, surprised his camp, took him prisoner, killed a great number of his people, and compelled the remainder to seek their safety in flight. This victory raised the spirits of the Afghans to the highest pitch of exultation: whilst the Raja was overwhelmed with confusion at the disgrace, and with sorrow on account of his son, who was carried prisoner to Bissuntpore, and, according to a report which prevailed for some days, had been put to death.

Fortunately for the royal cause, Cuttulu Khan, who had been for some time much indisposed, died a few days after this event; and as his children were not arrived at the age of manhood, the Afghan chiefs released the son of the Raja, and, through him, sued for peace. As the rainy season was not yet terminated, and the Raja found himself unable to undertake any active measures, he readily listened to their proposals: in consequence of which the sons of Cuttulu Khan, attended by Khuaje Issa, their minister, visited the Raja, and presented him with one hundred and fifty elephants, and many other costly articles. They then agreed, if allowed to retain quiet possession of Orissa, to stamp the coin in the name of the Emperor, and to prefix his name to all public edicts: further, in compliment to the Raja, they agreed to give up to him the temple of Jagernaut and its domain, held sacred by all Hindoos. The latter article highly flattered the Raja and his Bramin

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counsellors: and the young Afghans, after being treated with every mark of respect and attention, were clothed in dresses of honour, and permitted to return to Orissa; soon after which the Raja broke up his cantonments, and returned to Behar.

Although the Emperor was displeased at the want of energy evinced by the Raja on this occasion, he would not dissolve the treaty; and as long as Khuaje Issa, the prime-minister of the Afghans, lived, the peace was preserved inviolate on both sides: but at the end of two years that able man quitted this transitory world, and the covetous Afghans seized upon the rich and sacred territory of Jagernaut.

This proceeding was considered as sacrilege by the pious Raja, and he requested the Emperor's permission to exterminate the Afghans from that province.

A. D. 1591-2. Having obtained the royal sanction, Raja Mān Sing, in the year 1000, ordered all the troops of Behar to proceed by the western road, called the Jarcund route, to Midnapore, whilst he himself embarked with a chosen detachment in boats; and, proceeding down the Ganges, compelled Sayid Khan, his deputy in Bengal, to unite his forces on this expedition.

The Afghans, alarmed at these preparations, assembled all their forces; and, having retreated across the Subanreeka river, waited there the approach of their enemies. The contending armies continued for some time encamped opposite each other, and daily skirmishes took place between their light troops. At length the natural impatience of the Afghans overcame their prudence; they recrossed the river, and, placing too much dependance upon their elephants, rushed with violence and precipitation upon the royal army, which being drawn up with much skill in battle array, having a

number of guns posted along the front, waited with coolness the advance of the enemy. SECT. VI.

The fire from the Royal artillery soon threw the elephants into confusion, and drove them back with terror and dismay on the Afghan line; the squadrons of which having opened, and allowed the elephants to pass, made a desperate charge upon the Moghuls; but the latter, being superior in numbers, resisted them with vigour. The contest lasted nearly the whole day: at length the Afghans gave way, and sought their safety in flight. A.D. 1591-2.

The Raja pursued the enemy, and next day took possession of the city of Jellasore. At this place, Sayid Khan, deputy-governor of Bengal, tired of the campaign, and envious of the reputation of his superior officer, left the army without permission, and returned to Tondah.

Notwithstanding this defection, the Raja continued to pursue the fugitives, and compelled them to take refuge in Cuttack, a strong fortress, which was then in possession of Ramchund, the zemindar of the country, who had restored or changed its name to Saringghur.

The Raja having invested the fortress on all sides, left his army to carry on the siege, and embraced that opportunity of going to pay his devotions at the holy temple of Jaggernaut.

Whilst engaged in these solemn duties, he received several overtures from Ramchund and the Afghans in Cuttack; and upon his return to that place, finding little progress had been made in the siege, he consented to grant them peace, upon condition that the Afghans should give up all their elephants, and promise to conduct themselves, in future, as faithful subjects of the Emperor; and that the Zemindar should pay the revenues of the district into the Royal treasury: in return for

SECT. VI. which, jagiers were assigned to the Afghan chiefs in the district of Khaleefabad, and the Zemindar was allowed to retain possession of Cuttack and its dependencies. Thus the province of Orissa was again annexed to the Imperial dominions, and the Raja obtained much credit for his exertions.

After this splendid conquest, the Raja returned in triumph to Behar, whence he despatched 120 elephants, taken from the Afghans, to the Imperial presence. He then determined upon taking charge of both the governments of Behar and Bengal; and fixed upon the city of Agmahel, the name of which he changed to Rajemahel (Palace of Sovereignty), as the capital of the three provinces *. In this place he built a palace, and constructed a rampart of brick, strengthened with bastions, all round the town, the situation of which has been before described in the reign of Daood Khan Kerany. As the city increased in size and celebrity, the Mahommedans, as a compliment to the Emperor, dignified it with the title of Akbarnagur.

When the Raja returned towards Behar, he left a considerable force, under the command of his son, Juggut Sing,
A. D. 1592-3. upon the frontier of Orissa; and in the year 1001, the zemindar Ramchund having failed in his engagements, the Moghul army again entered his country, and took the forts of Jorwe, Subhal, Khareghur, and several other places. In the mean time, some exactions having been made from the Afghans, who by the treaty of peace had been allowed to retain their jagiers, they again rebelled, and, having advanced into Bengal, plundered the royal port of Saatgong, in the vicinity of the town now called Hoogly.

* This place, in antient times, under the Hindoo government, was called Raja Girha.

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These events again called the Raja into the field; but finding it was impolitic to render the Afghans desperate, he allowed them to return to their jagiers; the Zemindar of Orissa, having made an apology for his past conduct, was also forgiven; and peace was once more restored to that unhappy province, the inhabitants of which had been so often plundered, and their fields destroyed, by the contending armies.

A. D. 1593-4. In the year 1002, Sultan Khusero, then a child, the grandson of the Emperor, was appointed nominal Governor of Orissa, and a portion of its revenue assigned for his jagier, and for the payment of 5000 troops supposed to be under his command. The Raja Mān Sing was confirmed as the young prince's deputy; and Sayid Khan removed from Bengal, and appointed commandant of the troops in Behar. During this year, Raja Mān Sing paid a visit to the Emperor, and returned to his government loaded with honours.

A. D. 1595-6. In the year 1004, Luchmen Narain, the Raja of Couch Beyhar, whose territory was bounded on the east by the river Burhampooter, on the south by Ghoragot, on the west by Tirhoot, and on the north by the mountains of Thibet and Assam, and who is said to have possessed an army of 100,000 infantry, [illegible], 700 elephants, and 1000 war boats, came to visit the Raja Mān Sing, and professed himself a vassal of the Emperor. This conduct gave offence to his relations and neighbouring princes; they united against him; and compelled him to take refuge in his fort, whence he wrote to the Governor of Bengal, requesting him to send a force to his relief.

This event gave the Moghuls the first opportunity of entering Couch Beyhar. A considerable detachment was sent, under the command of Jehaz Khan, who quickly dispersed the

SECT. VI. rebels, released the Raja, and returned to Bengal loaded with plunder.

A. D. 1598-9. In the year 1007, the Emperor having determined on the conquest of the Dekkan, ordered Raja Mān Sing to join him with as many troops as could be spared from the defence of Bengal, and to leave that country under charge of his deputy.

A. D. 1599, 1600. The departure of the Raja served as a signal to raise the dormant spirit of the Afghans, who, in the year 1008, collected from all quarters, and, having placed Osman Khan, the son of the deceased Cuttulu Khan, at their head, again invaded Bengal. Mohan Sing, and Purtab Sing, the deputy-governors of the two provinces, united their forces, and advanced against the rebels. A general engagement took place in the vicinity of Bhenderuk, in which the Royal army was totally defeated; in consequence whereof great part of Bengal again became subject to the Afghans.

As soon as intelligence of this unlooked-for event reached the Emperor, he ordered Raja Mān Sing, then at Ajmire, to proceed immediately, with all the force he could collect, to Bengal.

A. D. 1599, 1600. The Raja having advanced, in the year 1008, by long marches, to Rhotas, halted there, to rest his army, and to give the dispersed Moghuls an opportunity of joining him. Having effected these purposes, he advanced to Seerpore Attaya, where he found the Afghans waiting to oppose him: a regular engagement ensued, and, notwithstanding the experience the Afghans had of the dangerous effects of their elephants, they again placed them in the front of the battle: these animals were soon driven back upon their ranks; and the Moghuls and

Rajepoots immediately charging, completed the route. The Afghans fled, and were pursued many miles by their conquerors.

Critical situation of Meer Abdul Rezack.

A curious circumstance occurred in this battle, which gave the Raja great satisfaction. In the former engagement, in which the Royal army had suffered a defeat, Meer Abdul Rezack, the paymaster of the Imperial forces, was taken prisoner, and carried about in triumph by the Afghans; who, fearing that he might make his escape during the approaching contest, placed him upon an elephant, in the midst of the battle, with chains on his hands and feet. On the same elephant was seated a fierce Afghan, with positive orders to dispatch his prisoner, should victory favour their adversaries. In this situation, Abdul Rezack was exposed to the fire of his friends; but, fortunately, a musquet-ball having killed the Afghan, the Moghul troops came up, and released the unhappy prisoner from his perilous situation.

This victory, aided by the presence of the Raja Mān Sing, annihilated the hopes of the Afghans: they retired from the field, and returned to Orissa, there to wait for a more favourable opportunity of recovering their lost power.

After this victory, the Raja paid a visit to the Emperor, and was promoted to the command of 7000 horse; a dignity which, before that time, had not been conferred on any subject. After a short residence at court, he returned to his government.

Raja Mān Sing continued to govern the eastern provinces, with great prudence and justice, till the year 1013, when, at his own request, he was permitted to resign; and upon his arrival at Agra, having presented the Emperor with 900 A. D. 1604.

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elephants, and various curiosities, he was received in the most gracious manner, and honoured by many proofs of the Royal esteem.

Man Sing resigns his government, A. D. 1604. Succeeded by Abdul Mujeed Asuf Khan.

When Raja Mān Sing signified his desire of resigning his government, a nobleman, named Abdul Mujeed Asuf Khan, was appointed to that important trust, and took charge of his office in the year 1013.

The cause of Raja Mān Sing's resignation of so valuable a government, in which he was considered as established for life, will be elucidated by the following extract from the History of Hindoostan.

" When the indisposition of the Emperor Akbar rendered him incapable of attending to public business, the whole weight of government fell on Khan Aazim, the Vizier. Selim, Akbar's only surviving son, notwithstanding the disputes which he formerly had with his father, was still looked upon as the heir of the empire; but the Vizier's daughter being married to Khusero, the eldest son of Selim, that minister was desirous of placing the reins of government in the hands of his son-in-law. He was supported in this scheme by many of the nobles; the most enterprising and powerful of whom was Raja Mān Sing, whose sister was mother of Khusero. The Raja, from the antiquity of his family, and his own address, commanded all the Hindoo interest in the empire; and he had, at that very time, twenty thousand of his native subjects, of the Rajepoot tribe, in, and near the environs of the capital, prepared to execute his orders. Selim, being apprised of the powerful confederacy against him, waited upon his father two days before his death, and laid before him all their schemes. The Emperor summoned Mān

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Sing and the Vizier to his presence; reprimanded them severely; and having publickly acknowledged Selim his lawful successor in the empire, obliged the confederate lords to pay him homage, and to promise to support his title*."

October, A. D. 1605.

The Emperor Akbar died on the 16th of Jemmad al Akhir (the 6th month) of the year 1014; and immediately upon this event, the Vizier and Raja Mān Sing formed a conspiracy to place Khusero, the son of Selim, on the throne, in preference to his father. Their scheme was not successful; and the Raja and the young prince were compelled to make their escape on board a boat from Agra.

Man Sing re-appointed Governor of Bengal.

The new Emperor, Jehangire, shortly forgave his son, and deemed it prudent policy to overlook the conduct of the Raja: but in order to remove the latter to a distance from the scene of intrigue, he again appointed him to the government of Bengal, with orders to proceed thither immediately, and keep in check the rebellious spirit of the Afghans.

Again recalled A. D. 1606.

In obedience to the Royal orders, Raja Mān Sing returned to Bengal; but at the end of eight months, that is to say, early in the year 1015, he was recalled to court†. As it frequently happens that great events arise from apparently inadequate causes, thus the removal of an able and experienced officer from the government of three rich and extensive provinces is attributed to the love of Jehangire for the fair Noor Jehan, then the wife of another person.

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* See Dow's History of Hindoostan, vol. III.

† Raja Mān Sing was allowed to enjoy a life of ease for some years, on his paternal estates, but was afterwards appointed to the command of an army in the Dekkan, and died there A. H. 1023 (A. D. 1615). It is related, that sixty women were burnt on his funeral pile; and that his seraglio consisted of fifteen hundred women, by each of whom he had two or three children, all of whom died before their father, except his successor, Raja Bhao Sing.

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## CUTTUB ADDEEN KHAN KOKULTASH KOKA.

*The Emperor Jehangire confers the Government of the three Provinces on Cuttub Addeen Khan, his Foster-brother—Shere Afgun, a Chief of Burdwan, refuses to wait on the new Governor—This circumstance explained by the history of Chaja Aiass—Birth of the beautiful Noor-Jehan—Her marriage with Shere—Persecution of her husband—Cuttub proceeds to Burdwan, and is killed, with several of his Nobles, by Shere, who also falls in the contest—Affliction of the Emperor at the death of Cuttub.*

WHEN the Emperor Jehangire felt himself firmly established on his throne, and found that he could dispense with the services of Raja Mān Singh, he recalled him from Bengal, and appointed his own foster-brother, Cuttub Addeen Kokultash, to the government of the three provinces of Behar, Bengal, and Orissa. On the 9th of the month Suffer, of the year
A.D. 1606. 1015, the new Governor was invested with the robes of office, and, in addition to the usual present of horses, elephants, and arms, received from the royal treasury 200,000 rupees for his own expenses, and 300,000 for the expenses of his followers.

Some months after the arrival of the new Governor at the capital of Bengal, he took offence that Shere Afgun, a nobleman celebrated for his great prowess, but who, disgusted with court, had retired to his estate in Burdwan, had not come to Rajemahel, to congratulate him upon his accession to the government; he therefore summoned him to appear, and to clear himself from some charges of which he stood accused. Shere, suspecting that treachery was designed, refused to move from Burdwan; and the Viceroy, having represented

this contumacious conduct to the Emperor, received orders to send Shere Afgun a prisoner to court; and if this measure should be found impracticable, to put him to death, either by open force or by stratagem.

Such were the ostensible motives assigned for this transaction; but, in order to elucidate the real cause of this event, it becomes requisite to revert to the History of Hindoostan, and to introduce to the reader one of the most celebrated characters that has ever appeared on the theatre of Asia.*

History of Chaja Aiass.

"About twenty years before this period, Chaja Aiass, a native of the western Tartary, left that country to push his fortune in Hindoostan. He was descended of an ancient and noble family, fallen into decay by various revolutions of fortune. He, however, had received a good education, which was all his parents could bestow. Falling in love with a young woman as poor as himself, he married her; but he found it difficult to provide for her the very necessaries of life. Reduced to the last extremity, he turned his thoughts upon India, the usual resource of the needy Tartars of the north. He left privately friends, who either would not, or could not assist him, and turned his face to a foreign country. His all consisted of one sorry horse, and a very small sum of money, which had proceeded from the sale of his other effects. Placing his wife upon the horse, he walked by her side. She happened to be with child, and could ill endure the fatigue

* The same motives which were assigned in page 126, respecting Shere Shah, have caused the insertion of this extract from the History of Hindoostan; and the beauty of the style induces me to give it verbatim, although it varies, in some trifling particulars, from my Persian Manuscripts.

SECT. VI. of so great a journey. Their scanty pittance of money was soon expended: they had even subsisted for some days upon charity, when they arrived on the skirts of the Great Solitudes which separate Tartary from the dominions of the family of Timur, in India. No house was there to cover them from the inclemency of the weather; no hand to relieve their wants. To return, was certain misery; to proceed, apparent destruction.

They had fasted three days: to complete their misfortunes, the wife of Aiass was taken in labour. She began to reproach her husband for leaving his native country at an unfortunate hour; for exchanging a quiet, though poor life, for the ideal prospect of wealth in a distant country. In this distressed situation she brought forth a daughter. They remained in the place for some hours, with a vain hope that travellers might pass that way. They were disappointed: human feet seldom tread these deserts. The sun declined apace: they feared the approach of night: the place was the haunt of wild beasts; and should they escape their hunger, they must fall by their own. Chaja Aiass, in this extremity, having placed his wife on the horse, found himself so much exhausted that he could scarcely move. To carry the child was impossible: the mother could not even hold herself fast on the horse. A long contest began between humanity and necessity: the latter prevailed, and they agreed to expose the child on the highway. The infant, covered with leaves, was placed under a tree; and the disconsolate parents proceeded in tears.

When they had advanced about a mile from the place, and the eyes of the mother could no longer distinguish the solitary tree under which she had left her daughter, she gave way to grief; and throwing herself from the horse on the

ground, exclaimed, "My child! my child!" She endeavoured to raise herself; but she had no strength to return. Aiass was pierced to the heart. He prevailed upon his wife to sit down: he promised to bring her the infant. He arrived at the place. No sooner had his eyes reached the child, than he was almost struck dead with horror. A black snake, it is said, was coiled around it; and Aiass believed he beheld him extending his fatal jaws to devour the infant. The father rushed forward: the serpent, alarmed at his vociferation, retired into the hollow tree. He took up his daughter unhurt, and returned to the mother. He gave her child into her arms; and, as he was informing her of the wonderful escape of the infant, some travellers appeared, and soon relieved them of all their wants. They proceeded gradually, and came to Lahore.

The Emperor Akbar, at the arrival of Aiass*, kept his court at Lahore. Asuf Khan, one of that monarch's principal omrahs, attended then the presence. He was a distant relation to Aiass, and he received him with attention and friendship. To employ him, he made him his own secretary. Aiass soon recommended himself to Asuf in that station; and, by some accident, his diligence and ability attracted the notice of the Emperor, who raised him to the command of a thousand horse. He became, in process of time, master of the household; and his genius being still greater than even his good fortune, he raised himself to the office and title of Actimâd-ul-Dowla, or High-treasurer of the empire. Thus he, who had almost perished through mere want in the desert, became, in the space of a few years, the first subject in India.

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* In the Tarikh Khafy Khan, he is called Ghyâs Beg.

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The daughter, who had been born to Aiass in the desert, received, soon after his arrival at Lahore, the name of Mher-ul-Nissa, or the Sun of Women. She had some right to the appellation; for in beauty she excelled all the ladies of the East. She was educated with the utmost care and attention. In music, in dancing, in poetry, in painting, she had no equal among her sex. Her disposition was volatile, her wit lively and satirical, her spirit lofty and uncontrouled. Selim, the prince-royal, visited one day her father. When the public entertainment was over, when all, except the principal guests, were withdrawn, and wine was brought on the table, the ladies, according to custom, were introduced in their veils. The ambition of Mher-ul-Nissa aspired to a conquest of the prince. She sung—he was in raptures; she danced—he could hardly be restrained, by the rules of decency, to his place. Her stature, her shape, her gait, had raised his ideas of her beauty to the highest pitch. When his eyes seemed to devour her, she, as by accident, dropt her veil; and shone upon him, at once, with all her charms. The confusion, which she could well feign, on the occasion, heightened the beauty of her face. Her timid eye by stealth fell upon the prince, and kindled all his soul into love. He was silent for the remaining part of the evening. She endeavoured to confirm, by her wit, the conquest which the charms of her person had made.

Selim, distracted with his passion, knew not what course to take. Mher-ul-Nissa had been betrothed, by her father, to Aly Cooly Shere Afgun, a Turkomanian nobleman of great renown. Selim applied to his father Akbar, who sternly refused to commit a piece of injustice, though in favour of the heir of his throne. The prince retired abashed; and Mher-ul-

Nissa became the wife of Shere Afgun. The latter, however, suffered in his prospects of life, for not having made a voluntary resignation of the lady to the enamoured prince. Though Selim durst make no open attack upon his fortunate rival, during the life of Akbar, men in office worshipped the rising sun, and threw accumulated disgrace on Shere Afgun. He became disgusted, and left the court of Agra. He retired into the province of Bengal, and obtained, from the Subahdar of that country, the superintendency of the district of Burdwan.

The passion for Mher-ul-Nissa, which Selim had repressed from a respect and fear of his father, returned with redoubled violence when he himself mounted the throne of India. He was now absolute; no subject could thwart his will and pleasure. He recalled Shere Afgun from his retreat. He was afraid, however, to go so much against the current of the public opinion, as to deprive that amyr of his wife. Shere was inflexible: no man of honour in India can part with his spouse, and retain his life. His incredible strength and bravery had rendered Shere extremely popular. He was naturally high-spirited and proud; and it was not to be expected that he would yield to indignity and public shame. His family, and his former reputation, were high. Born of noble parents in Turkomania, he had spent his youth in Persia; and had served, with uncommon renown, Shaw Ismael the third of the Sufviye line. His original name was Asta Jillô, but having killed a lion, he was dignified with the title of Shere Afgun, or the Overthrower of the Lion. Under the latter name he became famous in India. In the wars of Akbar, he had served with great reputation. He had distinguished himself in a particular manner under Khan Khanan, at the taking of Sind, by

SECT. VI. exhibiting prodigies of personal strength and valour. Preferments had been heaped upon him; and he was highly esteemed at court during the life of Akbar, who loved in others that daring intrepidity for which he himself was renowned.

Jehangire kept his court at Dehly, when he called Shere Afgun to the presence. He received him graciously, and conferred new honours upon him. Shere Afgun, naturally open and generous, suspected not the Emperor's intentions. Time, he thought, had erased the memory of Mher-ul-Nissa from Jehangire's mind. He was deceived: the monarch was resolved to remove his rival; but the means he used were at once ungenerous and disgraceful. He appointed a day for hunting; and ordered the haunt of an enormous tiger to be explored. News was soon brought, that a tiger of an extraordinary size was discovered in the forest of Nidarbari. This savage, it was said, had carried off many of the largest oxen from the neighbouring villages. The Emperor directed thither his march, attended by Shere Afgun, and all his principal officers, with their train of dependants. Having, according to the custom of the Moghul Tartars, surrounded the ground for many miles, they began to move toward the center, on all sides. The tiger was rouzed: his roaring was heard in all quarters; and the Emperor hastened to the place.

The nobility being assembled, Jehangire called aloud, "Who among you will advance singly, and attack this tiger?" They looked on one another in silence: then all turned their eyes on Shere Afgun. He seemed not to understand their meaning. At length three omrahs started forth from the circle, and, sacrificing fear to shame, fell at the Emperor's feet, and begged permission to try singly their strength against the

formidable animal. The pride of Shere Afgun arose. He had imagined that none durst attempt a deed so dangerous. He hoped that after the refusal of the nobles, the honour of the enterprise would devolve in course on his hands. But three had offered themselves for the combat; and they were bound in honour to insist on their prior right. Afraid of losing his former renown, Shere Afgun began thus in the presence: "To attack an animal with weapons is both unmanly and unfair. God has given to man limbs and sinews, as well as to tigers: he has added reason to the former, to conduct his strength." The other omrahs objected in vain, "That all men were inferior to the tiger in strength, and that he could be overcome only with steel." "I will convince you of your mistake," Shere Afgun replied; and, throwing down his sword and shield, prepared to advance unarmed.

Though the Emperor was, in secret, pleased with a proposal full of danger to Shere, he made a shew of dissuading him from the enterprise. Shere was determined. The monarch, with feigned reluctance, yielded. Men knew not whether they ought most to admire the courage of the man, or to exclaim against the folly of the deed. Astonishment was painted in every face: every tongue was silent. Writers give a particular but incredible detail of the battle between Shere Afgun and the tiger. This much is certain, that, after a long and obstinate struggle, the astonishing warrior prevailed, and, though mangled with wounds himself, laid at last the savage dead at his feet. The thousands who were eye-witnesses of the action were even almost afraid to vouch for the truth of the exploit, with their concurring testimony. The fame of Shere was increased, and the designs of the Emperor failed.

SECT. VI. But the determined cruelty of the latter stopt not here: other means of death were contrived against the unfortunate Shere.

He had scarcely recovered from his wounds, when he came to pay his respects at court. He was caressed by the Emperor; and he suspected no guile. A snare however was prepared for him. Jehangire had meanly condescended to give private orders to the rider of one of his largest elephants, to waylay his rival, in one of the narrow streets, when he next should return to court, and there to tread him to death. As accidents of that kind sometimes happen, from the rage of those animals in the rutting season, the thing might have passed without suspicion. Shere was carried in his palanky. He saw the elephant in his way. He gave orders to the bearers to return back: the elephant came forward: they threw the palanky, with their master, in the street, and fled to save their lives. Shere saw his danger. He had just time to rise. He drew a short sword, which always hung by his side: with this weapon he struck the elephant across the root of the trunk, which he cut off with one blow. The animal roared, turned from him, fell down and expired. The Emperor was looking out at a window: he retired with amazement and shame. Shere continued his way to the palace. Without any suspicion of treachery, he related the particulars to Jehangire. The latter disguised his sentiments, but relinquished not his designs. He praised the strength and valour of Shere, who retired satisfied, and unsuspecting, from the presence.

Whether the Emperor endeavoured to conquer his passion for Mher-ul-Nissa, or felt remorse from his own behaviour, is uncertain; but, for the space of six months, no further attempts were made against the life of Shere, who now retired

to Bengal. The former designs of Jehangire were no secret: they were the subject of common conversation, little to the advantage of the character of a great prince. Absolute monarchs, however, are never without men who flatter their worst passions, and administer to their most pernicious pleasures. Cuttub, subahdar of Bengal, was one of these convenient sycophants. To ingratiate himself with the Emperor, though perhaps not by his express commands, he hired forty ruffians to attack and murder Shere, when an opportunity should offer. Shere was apprized of the intentions of Cuttub. He continued within doors; but such was his confidence in his own strength and valour, that at night he would not permit his servants to remain in his house. They, according to custom, retired each to his own home. An old porter only remained, of the men-servants, under the same roof with Shere. The assassins were no strangers to a circumstance common in India. They made their observations upon the house: they found that there was a room on the right hand within the principal door, which Shere used as a writing chamber. This room communicated, by a narrow passage, with the sleeping apartments. When it was dark, they took advantage of the old porter's absence, and conveyed themselves, without discovery, into the house.

The principal door being bolted at the usual hour, Shere and his family went to bed. Some of the assassins, when they thought he was fallen asleep, stole silently into his apartment. They prepared to plunge their daggers into his body, when one of them, who was an old man, being touched with remorse, cried out with a loud voice, "Hold! have we "not the Emperor's orders? Let us behave like men. Shall

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"forty fall upon one; and that one asleep!" "Boldly spoken!" said Shere, starting that instant from his bed. Seizing his sword, he placed himself in a corner of the room: there he was attacked by the assassins. In a few minutes, many of the villains lay, weltering in their blood, at his feet. Scarce one half escaped without a wound. The old man, who had given warning, did not attempt to fly. Shere took him by the hand, praised and thanked him for his behaviour, and, having inquired about those who hired the assassins, dismissed him, with handsome presents, to relate the particulars abroad.

The fame of this gallant exploit resounded through the whole empire. Shere could not stir abroad for the mob, who pressed around him. He, however, thought proper to retire from the capital of Bengal, to his old residence at Burdwan. He hoped to live there in obscurity and safety, with his beloved Mher-ul-Nissa. He was deceived: the Subahdar of Bengal had received his government for the purpose of removing the unfortunate Shere; and he was not ungrateful. After deliberating with himself about the means, he at last fell upon an effectual expedient. Settling the affairs of his government at Rajemahel, which was at that time the capital of Bengal, he resolved, with a great retinue, to make the tour of the dependent provinces. In his route, he came to Burdwan. He made no secret to his principal officers, that he had the Emperor's orders for dispatching Shere. That devoted amyr, hearing that the Subahdar was entering the town in which he resided, mounted his horse, and, with two servants only, went to pay his respects. The Subahdar received Shere with affected politeness. They rode, for some time, side by side; and their

conversation turned upon indifferent affairs. The Subahdar suddenly stopped: he ordered his elephant of state to be brought; which he mounted, under a pretence of appearing with becoming pomp in the city of Burdwan. Shere stood still, when the Subahdar was ascending; and one of the pikemen, pretending that Shere was in the way, struck his horse, and began to drive him before him. Shere was enraged at the affront: he knew that the pikeman durst not have used that freedom without his master's orders: he saw plainly that there was a design laid against his life. Turning therefore round upon the pikeman, he threatened him with instant death. The man fell on the ground, and begged for mercy. Swords were drawn. Shere had no time to lose: he spurred his horse up to the elephant, on which the Subahdar was mounted, and, having broken down the *ambhary* or castle, cut him in two: and thus the unfortunate Cuttub became the victim of his own zeal to please the Emperor. Shere did not rest here: he turned his sword on the other officers. The first that fell by his hands was Aba Khan, a native of Cashmire, who was an amyr of five thousand horse. Four other nobles shared the same fate: a death attended every blow from the hand of Shere. The remaining chiefs were at once astonished and frightened: they fled to a distance, and formed a circle around him. Some began to gall him with arrows; others to fire with their musquets. His horse, at length, being shot with a ball in the forehead, fell under him. The unfortunate Shere, reduced to the last extremity, began to upbraid them with cowardice. He invited them severally to single combat; but he begged in vain. He had already received some wounds: he plainly saw his approaching fate. Turning his face toward Mecca, he took up

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some dust with his hand; and, for want of water, threw it, by way of ablution, upon his head. He then stood up, seemingly unconcerned. Six balls entered his body, in different places, before he fell. His enemies had scarcely courage to come near, till they saw him in the last agonies of death. They praised his valour to the skies; but, in adding to his reputation, they took away from their own.

The officer, who succeeded the deceased Subahdar in the command of the troops, hastened to the house of Shere. He was afraid that Mher-ul-Nissa, in the first paroxysms of grief, might make away with herself. That lady, however, bore her misfortunes with more fortitude and resignation. She was unwilling to adopt the manners of her country, upon such tragical occasions: she even pretended, in vindication of her apparent insensibility, to follow the injunctions of her deceased lord. She alleged that Shere, foreseeing his own fall by Jehangire, had conjured her to yield to the desires of that monarch without hesitation. The reasons which she said he gave were as feeble as the fact itself was improbable—he was afraid that his own exploits would sink into oblivion, without they were connected with the remarkable event of giving an empress to India."

When intelligence of the death of Cuttub Addeen Khan reached the Emperor, he was much afflicted, as he had ever found him a faithful and devoted servant; and it is said, that, on this occasion, Jehangire made a vow he would never see the lady who had been, though unconsciously, the cause of his favourite's death: but the beauty and attractions of that accomplished female made him change his resolution, and, for

many years, she, conjointly with him, ruled the empire of India. A circumstance so uncommon in an Asiatic government is thus recorded on the coin of that period: SECT. VI.

بحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور
بنام نور جهان بادشه بیکم زر

By order of the Emperor Jehangire, gold acquired a hundred times additional value by the name of the Empress Noor Jehan (*Light of the World.*)

*Khafy Khan's History.*

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## JEHANGIRE COOLY KHAN CABULY.

EARLY in the year 1016, Jehangire Cooly Khan, who was then governor of Behar, was, upon the death of Cuttub Addeen, ordered to take charge of Bengal. This was an officer of highly distinguished courage: he had gained great celebrity by the overthrow and death of Sunkeram, Raja of Gorackpore, who had frequently been guilty of disobedience to the royal authority. A. D. 1607.

In his disposition were blended the opposite qualities of piety and cruelty: he constantly retained in his service a hundred persons who could repeat the Koran by heart, and who, at the end of every repetition, bestowed on him the merit arising therefrom*. He also attended prayers five times daily, and was much employed in religious offices; but, as a judge, he was inexorable. While engaged in prayers, he frequently, by a motion of his hand, gave the signal for the flogging, hanging, or beheading a culprit. He was at all times attended by a hundred trumpeters, who, whenever the villagers disputed with him respecting their rents, used to make

* The English reader may perhaps be surprised at this circumstance; but if he will recollect that his own ancestors frequently bequeathed large sums of money for Masses, to be said for their souls, he will perceive that the Governor only anticipated events.

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so dreadful a noise as terrified the rustics into submission. He was also constantly accompanied by a hundred Cashmirian archers, who could bring down the smallest bird in its flight, and who were ready to pierce with their arrows any person pointed out in the crowd: in short, he was detested by the inhabitants of Behar; but, fortunately for those of Bengal, he died in little more than a year after he had assumed that government, and before he had time to make them feel the effects of his cruelty.

## SHAIKH ALA ADDEEN ISLAM KHAN.

*Islam Khan appointed to the Government—Makes Dacca the Capital of the Province—Account of the Portuguese Pirates—Sebastian Gonzales takes possession of Sundeep, and several other islands at the mouth of the Ganges, and attains to great power—Anaporam, brother of the King of Arracan, takes refuge at Sundeep—Gives his Sister in marriage to Gonzales—Dies—The King of Arracan enters into a confederacy with the Pirates—Their united forces invade Bengal—defeated—The Afghans, under Osman Khan, rebel—The Governor sends an Ambassador to them—The Afghans refuse to submit—The Governor sends an army, under Shujâet Khan, against them—A general engagement ensues, which, after a hard-fought contest, terminates in favour of the Moghuls—Osman Khan having been killed, his brother and son supplicate for peace—The Governor sends his own son, Hoshung, with the prisoners and elephants to Agra—The Governor of Behar being absent, an Impostor assumes the title of Sultan Khusero, and takes possession of Patna—The Governor returns, and puts the Impostor to death—Islam Khan dies.*

A. D. 1608. IN the year of the Hejira 1017, the government of Bengal being vacant by the death of the late occupant, the

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Emperor was pleased to promote Islam Khan to that office: he at the same time appointed Afzul Khan to the charge of Behar.

Dacca made the capital of Bengal.

The first act of Islam Khan's authority was the removal of the seat of government from Rajemahel to the city of Dacca; the name of which, in compliment to the reigning Emperor, he changed to Jehangire-nagur. He built there a palace, and a brick fort, some remains of which are still standing.

Although the Oriental historians have not assigned any reason for Islam Khan's changing the seat of government, his motives are satisfactorily accounted for in the annals of Portuguese Asia.

Portuguese Pirates.

It appears, that, at the conclusion of the 16th century, a number of Portuguese were settled on the coast of Arracan and Chittagong: many of these had entered into the service of the native princes; and, from their knowledge of maritime affairs, and by their desperate bravery, had risen to considerable commands, and had obtained extensive grants of land, both on the continent and in the adjacent islands.

A. D. 1607.

The treacherous or turbulent conduct of these adventurers having given offence to the Raja of Arracan, he, early in the year 1016, determined to extirpate them from his dominions: many were in consequence put to death, but a number of them escaped, in nine or ten small vessels, to the islands at the mouth of the river Ganges, where, for some time, they lived by piracy*.

* See Translation of Faria de Souza's History, vol. III. p. 154.

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A. D. 1067. This conduct having attracted the notice of Futteh Khan, the Moghul commander of the Island of Sundeep, he ordered all the Portuguese inhabitants and other Christians on the island to be seized and put to death. He then embarked, with 600 soldiers, on board forty vessels, and went in pursuit of the pirates. He found them at anchor off the Island of Deccan Shabazpore, and attacked them with great vigour; but the superior skill of the Portuguese, in the management of their ships and the use of their cannon, counterbalanced the advantage of numbers; and, after a hard-fought contest, which lasted the whole night, Futteh Khan, with the greater part of his troops, was killed, and the whole of his fleet captured.

This unexpected victory raised the fame of the pirates; and, in consequence, their countrymen and Christian converts joined them from all quarters. They elected for their chief a common sailor, named Sebastian Gonzales, and determined to secure for themselves a permanent settlement, by taking possession of the Island of Sundeep.

March, A. D. 1609. In the year 1018, the whole Portuguese force, consisting of 400 men, landed at Sundeep; upon which the brother of Futteh Khan, with the Mohammedan troops, took refuge in a small fort, while the Hindoo inhabitants remained neutral spectators of the contest; but as the garrison expected no quarter, they defended themselves with great resolution, and the siege was protracted for a considerable time: at length, a Spanish ship having cast anchor at the island, the captain of her agreed to assist the Portuguese; and having, at night, landed fifty of his men, he marched with lighted torches, and drums beating; and, being joined by the Portuguese, they attacked the fort, entered it, and put the whole of the garrison to the sword. The natives of the islands immediately

submitted, and were granted security of their lives and property, on condition of delivering up all the Mohammedans: of these 1000 were brought to the fort, and, in revenge for the Portuguese families that had been put to death by Futteh Khan, were butchered in cold blood.

Thus Sebastian Gonzales became absolute master of the island of Sundeep, and was obeyed by the natives and Portuguese as an independent prince. In the course of a short time, his force consisted of 1000 Portuguese, 2000 Indian soldiers, 200 cavalry, and eighty sail of vessels, of various sizes and well mounted with cannon; and, as his government was conducted with equity, many merchants resorted to the island, and, by their commerce, contributed much to increase his revenue.

The neighbouring chiefs, astonished at the prodigious success of Gonzales, sought his friendship, and deprecated his wrath; but, as he was of an intractable and covetous disposition, he listened not to their friendly overtures; and although he was under great obligations to the Raja of *Batecala*, who had first given refuge to the Portuguese in their distress, he ungratefully seized upon the islands of Shahbazpore and Patelbanga, which belonged to that chief; by which means his territories became as extensive as those of some independent princes; and, consisting entirely of islands, were secure from the attacks of an enemy, so long as the Portuguese were masters of the sea*.

About this period, an event occurred which contributed much to the fame and riches of the pirates. Anaporam, a

* These islands, which are all situated at the mouth of the eastern branch of the Ganges, are, at present, but thinly inhabited, their only productions being rice and salt; and their climate is supposed to be very unfavourable to European constitutions.

SECT. VI. brother of the King of Arracan, who was governor of one of the districts in that country, having been guilty of some misdemeanour, fled, and took refuge at Sundeep, where he prevailed upon Sebastian Gonzales, by the promise of a large sum of money, and his sister in marriage, to espouse his cause, and to assist him in the recovery of his government. Gonzales, in consequence, sent a detachment of troops, and several ships, with Anaporam, to the coast of Arracan; but they were so vigorously opposed, that they were obliged to return without effecting any thing more than bringing off the wealth and family of Anaporam, who, in compliance with his promise, paid Gonzales a large sum of money, and permitted his sister to turn Christian, and to become the wife of the pirate. The prince, shortly after this event, died, not without suspicion of having been poisoned; and all his wealth fell into the hands of Gonzales.

A. D. 1610. The following year, the Raja of Arracan, having determined to invade Bengal, sent an envoy to Sundeep, to conclude a treaty of peace with the pirates, and to request their co-operation against the Moghul forces: he was also authorised to demand the wife and children of the deceased prince. The latter request was immediately complied with; and the lady, having been carried to Chittagong, was married to the Governor of that place.

A league was shortly after concluded between the Raja and the Portuguese; by which it was stipulated, that the Raja should invade Bengal with a large army by land; and that the Portuguese should co-operate by sea, and with their small vessels protect and guard the passage of the rivers. The Raja also agreed to place his own fleet under the command of

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Gonzales, provided the latter gave his nephew as a hostage for its safe return. It was further stipulated, that whatever conquests were made, should be equally divided between the contracting parties. Every thing having been settled to their mutual satisfaction, the combined forces proceeded towards Bengal, and, without opposition, took possession of the country in the vicinity of Luckipore and Bulloah, on the eastern side of the river Megna: but, a numerous army of the Moghul troops soon after arriving, the Arracanners were defeated with great slaughter; and the Portuguese, having neglected to occupy the rivers with their gun-boats, the former were pursued nearly as far as Chittagong; and the Raja, with great difficulty, effected his escape upon an elephant.

Such were, probably, the circumstances which induced Islam Khan to change the seat of government, and to fix his residence at Dacca; where, by his alertness in opposing the invaders upon all occasions, he so much recommended himself to the Emperor, that he was promoted to the rank of commander of 5000 horse. Fortunate, indeed, it was for the inhabitants of Bengal, that they at that time possessed so active and enterprising a Governor; for scarcely were their minds freed from the incursions of the Mughs, when they were threatened by an enemy from the opposite quarter.

In the year 1020, the Afghan chief, Osman Khan, son of Cuttulu Khan*, evinced signs of his turbulent and unbroken spirit. In order to bring him to a proper sense of his duty, the Governor had the moderation to send to him an ambassador, who, in an eloquent speech, attempted to convince the Afghans A. D. 1611.

* See page 183.

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of the folly of drawing on themselves the Imperial arms, and the little chance there was of again shaking off the Moghul yoke, which he asserted pressed lighter on them than any other class of his Majesty's subjects: that, united in the faith of Mohammed, it was their duty, as the inferior power, to bend to, and endeavour to assimilate with, the conquerors: that nations rise and fall by destiny: that for six hundred years the Afghans had ruled Hindoostan with despotic sway; but that Fate had now consigned the sceptre to the hands of the Moghuls: they ought, therefore, to bear their lot with humility and resignation, and bend down in submission to the Divine decree. Had this address been made to any other nation, it is possible it might have been attended with effect; but as, to the present day, the Afghans have never been able to "convert their swords into ploughshares," and, of the descendants of the numerous bands of that tribe who formerly overran Bengal, not a man is to be found who will condescend to cultivate the ground, the rhetoric of the ambassador was thrown to the winds. The haughty Osman Khan, at the head of 20,000 Afghans, considered himself as a second Alexander, and breathed nothing but war and independence.

The Governor, having been thus foiled in amicable overtures, lost not another moment in making preparations to subdue this haughty spirit: he fitted out a numerous and well-appointed army, the command of which he entrusted to Shujâet Khan, a brave and experienced officer, with orders to expel the whole of the turbulent Afghans from Orissa.

Upon the approach of the Royal army, Osman Khan advanced to the banks of the Subanreeka river, the neighbourhood of which abounded with swamps and quagmires,

and was consequently unfavourable for the operations of the Moghûl Cavalry. The Imperial General, however, advanced in battle array, and found the Afghans drawn out ready to receive him. Osman had placed his war-elephants in front of the columns destined for the attack; and, upon the signal being given, these furious animals advanced, and bore down every thing before them. Syed Adam and Iftikhar Khan, who commanded the right and left wings of the Imperial army, with a number of other chiefs of note, were soon extended on the plain. Notwithstanding great numbers of the rebels had become the food of the blood-thirsty sword, and were fallen in the dust of destruction*, Osman, elated by the death of so many of the Royal chiefs, and regardless of the number of his own people who were slain, being preceded by a celebrated elephant named Bukhteh, advanced in person into the heat of the action; but being exceedingly corpulent, he rode a quiet elephant, carrying an *ambhary*, or covered seat, from which he discharged his arrows with great execution. Having, at length, reached the post of Shujâet Khan, the Imperial commander-in-chief, he ordered the driver of the war-elephant to trample that officer, and the small party which surrounded him, under foot. Shujâet Khan, perceiving his intention, spurred on his horse, and wounded the elephant with his spear; he then drew his sword, and inflicted four other wounds on the animal; but the furious beast, only more irritated by his wounds, made a desperate charge, and overthrew the General's horse. Shujâet, however, extricated himself from his steed, and, bravely standing

* A literal translation of the whole of this passage may be found in the Appendix to the Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library, No. 36.

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his ground, wounded the elephant twice on the fore leg, which brought him upon his knees: the chief then plunged his dagger into the animal's trunk, which completely disabled him.

Shujâet Khan, having thus narrowly escaped from so unequal a contest, remounted his horse, and shewed himself to his troops, who were much dispirited, and beginning to retire. At this crisis, when, a number of the Royal generals having been killed and many more disabled by wounds, a universal panic pervaded the army, by chance, a Moghul ball, from some unknown hand, struck Osman in the forehead; but the wound not proving immediately mortal, he continued, while he had any strength remaining, to stimulate his troops to fight: at length, becoming faint, he was obliged to retire; and the Afghans, seeing their chief's elephant moving to the rear, fled to their camp. Osman reached his tent nearly exhausted, and expired during the night. Early the next morning, Vely and Mumriez, the brother and son of the deceased, fled with the body to their fortress, and the Afghans dispersed themselves in various directions.

The state of the Moghul army was such, that they could not pursue the fugitives, till a reinforcement of 300 fresh cavalry, and 400 infantry, joined them. Shujâet Khan then placed himself at their head, and followed the Afghans.

The son and brother of Osman, seeing the perseverance of the Imperial General, found there was no alternative but to throw themselves on his clemency: they therefore sent an envoy to him, to request he would pardon their errors; and to state, that if he would assure them of personal safety, they would proceed to Court, and become his Majesty's most faithful dependants and adherents.

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Shujâet Khan having strictly complied with these propositions, the next day Vely and Mumriez, with a number of the deceased chief's relations, waited on the Imperial General, and presented him with forty-nine elephants, and some jewels, being the only remaining property of the Afghan chief. With these proofs of his success, Shujâet Khan immediately proceeded to Dacca, and presented them and his prisoners to the Governor.

As this was the expiring effort of the Afghans to recover their authority in Bengal, the news was received at Court with great satisfaction. Shujâet Khan was honoured with the title of Rustemi Zemān (the Hercules of the Age); and the Governor was promoted to the command of 6000 horse.

On the twenty-second of Mohurrem, A. H. 1022, Hosheng, A. D. 1613. son of the Governor, arrived at Agra with his prisoners and the elephants of the Afghan chief, and was most graciously received; he also presented to the Emperor several of the Mughs, natives of the countries of Pegū and Arracan, who had been made prisoners during the war with those nations. The customs of these people seemed to his Majesty very reprehensible, as he was informed that they ate animals of every kind, and married their half-sisters, and that their religion was of the grossest idolatry*.

During the period the troops of Bengal were employed against the Afghans, an impostor, calling himself the Prince Khusero, eldest son of Jehangire, who had been long confined in consequence of his rebellion, made his appearance in the province of Behar. The misfortunes of Khusero had rendered

* The inhabitants of the greater part of the Eastern Peninsula of India are Boodhists, or worshippers of Godama.—*See Symes's Embassy to Ava.*

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him popular; and as India has always abounded with numerous adventurers and soldiers of fortune, ready to follow the standard of any one who will pay them, or hold out to them a prospect of plunder, in less than a week the impostor had collected a body of 7000 men: with these he advanced against the city of Patna; and Afzul Khan, the governor, being then absent with most of the troops, the banditti easily stormed the ramparts; and the impostor, having given up the town to be plundered by his followers, reserved for himself the palace and property of the Governor. He then caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor, under the title of Khusero Shah; and sent orders to the Zemindars, and other public officers, to come and pay their respects. Many of these persons waited on him; and, from the plausibility of his story, were convinced that he was the prince.

Afzul Khan, the governor, was at Gazypore when he received intelligence of the insurrection; and as he had been one of Khusero's adherents during the rebellion, and still his well-wisher, he was at a loss how to act: but before his arrival at Patna, he was convinced of the deception, and took the requisite measures for quelling the disturbance.

The impostor, whose real name was Cuttub, was not deficient in personal bravery. He led his troops some miles from Patna, to oppose the approach of the Governor; but at the first onset he was abandoned by all but a few friends, and compelled to flee and take refuge in the palace: there he defended himself for some time with much resolution; but was at length killed by a brick, thrown at him from the roof of an adjoining building. His accomplices were then seized, and they acknowledged that he was a young Rohilla Afghan, who,

having visited Dehly, had been there informed he bore a strong resemblance to the unfortunate Prince Khusero, whose hard fate was deplored by thousands; and that these circumstances had induced him to assume the name of the prince, and to try to better his fortune.

Improbable as was the success of this enterprise, it has been frequently imitated in Hindoostan, and has caused considerable commotions.

Islam Khan continued to govern Bengal with great reputation, and died at Dacca in the year 1022. A. D. 1613.

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## COSSIM KHAN.

*Cossim Khan appointed to the Government—Disputes with the Son of the deceased Governor respecting his Brother's property—Affairs of the Portuguese continued — Sebastian Gonzales treacherously seizes the Arracan fleet—Ravages the coast of Arracan—repulsed—Applies to the Viceroy of Goa for assistance—The Viceroy sends a fleet to invade Arracan—The Raja, assisted by the Dutch, opposes and defeats the Portuguese—Gonzales retires to Sundeep, and is pursued by the Arracanners, who defeat him, and take possession of that island, whence they make frequent incursions into Bengal—The Emperor, irritated thereat, censures the Governor, and supersedes him.*

THE Emperor Jehangire was much distressed when he heard of the death of Islam Khan; and, as a proof of his regard, appointed Cossim Khan, the brother of the deceased, to the A. D. 1618. government. This officer proceeded immediately to Bengal; and meeting with Kereem Khan, the illegitimate or adopted son of his brother, at Rajemahel, disputed with him regarding the inheritance, and, by force, took from him a considerable part

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of the effects, and several elephants, which the young man contended were the property of the Emperor. By this conduct the Governor incurred the Royal displeasure; and although no notice was immediately taken of the circumstance, it probably accelerated his recall.

As, during the period of this officer's government, his attention was principally occupied in opposing the incursions of the piratical Portuguese and the Mughs, it now becomes requisite to revert to their history.

Affairs of the Portuguese, continued.

After the retreat of the Raja and the army of Arracan, Gonzales treacherously invited the captains of the vessels belonging to that nation, on board his ship, and put them all to death; after which he took possession of the whole Arracan fleet, and returned with it to Sundeep: but in order to complete the measure of his villainy, he immediately fitted out an expedition to plunder the coast of Arracan, which, in consequence of the victory gained by the Moghuls and his seizure of the fleet, was left totally unprotected. He therefore plundered and burnt many of the towns on the coast; and had even the audacity to go up the Arracan river, and to seize upon all the merchant vessels in that harbour: he was repulsed, however, in his attack on the city, and compelled to retreat: but, previous to his departure, he had the mortification to see his nephew, whom he had given as a hostage, impaled upon a lofty hill, by order of the Raja, in revenge for his treachery. This sight did not awaken in the breast of the wretch any sentiments of remorse for his own infamous conduct, but served only to stimulate him to seek revenge, even at the expense of his independence.

During the whole period of Gonzales' success, he had

never taken any notice of, nor submitted himself to, the authority of the Viceroy of the Portuguese settlements in India: but upon his return to Sundeep, he despatched one of his ships, with an intelligent agent, to Goa, to make an offer of his obedience to the Viceroy, Don Hierome de Azvedo, and to urge him to the conquest of Arracan, which he described as a rich and fruitful country, and capable of making very little resistance. On his part, he engaged to co-operate with all his forces, and to send to Goa an annual tribute of a ship-load of rice: he further urged, that his conduct against the King of Arracan had proceeded entirely from his desire of revenging the murder of his countrymen, who had been unjustly put to death by that prince.

The Viceroy, ambitious of extending the conquests of his nation to a country which had not yet submitted to the Portuguese yoke, fitted out an expedition, consisting of fourteen large galliots, one fly-boat, and a pink; and gave the command of it to Don Francis de Meneses, who had been for several years Governor of Ceylon: but, in his instructions to that officer, he did not sufficiently appreciate the value of the assistance to be expected from the pirates, and even commanded that the attack should be made without waiting for their junction.

On the third of October, 1615, the expedition entered the river of Arracan*; whence Don Francis despatched a galliot, A. D. 1615.

* Since the year 1783, when the Birmans conquered Arracan, European vessels are not allowed to enter that river; but it is said to have six fathoms water on the Bar, and to be capable of containing a very large fleet. Its source, however, is not above seventy miles from the sea, although it was formerly supposed to have its rise in China.—*See Symes's Embassy to Ava.*

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to inform Gonzales of his arrival; and resolved to wait at the mouth of the river till his messenger returned from Sundeep.

In the mean time, the Raja, having learnt the hostile preparations that were making against him, prevailed upon the masters of some Dutch vessels, which were in the harbour, to join him against the Portuguese, and, on the 15th of October, attacked the latter with a numerous fleet, led on by a Dutch ship. The fight lasted the whole day, but nothing decisive took place; and, in the evening, the Arracanners returned up the river. In this situation, things remained till nearly the middle of the month of November, when Gonzales made his appearance with fifty sail of vessels, of various sizes. He was much irritated at the conduct of the Viceroy, in not having sent him timely notice; and severely censured Don Francis for having entered the river previous to his junction, as the enemy had thereby been apprised of their intentions, and were doubtless well prepared for the attack.

On the 15th of November, Don Francis, dividing his fleet into two squadrons, took the command of one himself, and gave the other to Gonzales. He soon after got under weigh; and, at some distance from the city, discovered the Arracan and Dutch fleet drawn up, ready to receive him. With his own squadron he attacked the right of the enemy, while Gonzales vigorously opposed the left. The fight continued till sun-set; when Don Francis, being killed by a musquet-ball, and above 200 more of the Portuguese having also fallen, Gonzales found it requisite to retire; and with the ebb-tide returned to the mouth of the river, where, after burying the dead, and consulting with the captains respecting their

further proceedings, it was agreed to abandon the enterprise, and to return to Sundeep.

This defeat ruined the affairs of Gonzales: the Portuguese officers returned to Goa, and induced many of the pirates to accompany them. His followers also, disgusted by his brutal behaviour, abandoned him; and, in the following year, the Raja of Arracan invaded Sundeep, defeated Gonzales, and took possession of the other islands; whence, under the denomination of Mughs, the Arracanners frequently invaded and plundered the lower parts of Bengal, carrying off with them the inhabitants as slaves*.

As Cossim Khan did not evince sufficient energy in repelling these invaders, the Emperor severely censured him for his conduct; and, in the year 1027, recalled him to Court, to answer for his negligence. A. D. 1618.

## IBRAHIM KHAN FUTTEH JUNG.

*Ibrahim Khan, appointed to the government, encourages agriculture and manufactures—The Agents of the English East-India Company arrive, over land, at Patna, and establish a Factory in that city—The prince Shah Jehan rebels—Marches to Dehly—Defeated by the Emperor—Flees to the Dekkan—Resolves to invade Bengal—Obtains possession of the Province of Orissa—Advances into Bengal, and takes Burdwan—The Governor marches from Dacca, and takes post with his army in the vicinity of Rajemahel—The Prince endeavours to bribe the Governor, but, failing of success, advances against him—Crosses the river Ganges—Defeats and kills the Governor.*

THIS officer, who was married to a sister of the Empress Noor Jehan, had frequently distinguished himself in military

* In Major Rennell's Bengal Atlas, a considerable district is marked as "Lands depopulated by the Mughs."

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enterprises, by which he had obtained the title of "Victorious in War," was chosen by the Court as a person well qualified to defend the country against all invaders. His commission, however, did not include Behar, which was still continued to Afzul Khan; but he had permission to nominate his own deputy for the management of Orissa, to which station he appointed his nephew, Ahmed Beg. He was also allowed to appoint his son, Syf Allah, then only twelve years of age, to be superintendant of Burdwan*.

For nearly five years, the provinces of Bengal and Orissa enjoyed, under the able government of Ibrahim Khan, a state of tranquillity and security, which tended much to the happiness of the inhabitants. Agriculture and commerce were encouraged, and the manufactures were carried to a degree of perfection they had never before attained. The delicate muslins of Dacca, and the silks of Maldah, constituted the chief part of the dress of the Imperial court, whether male or female; and the fineness of its texture was such as cannot now be imitated†.

The English East-India Company establish a factory at Patna, A. D. 1620.

It was during the period that Afzul Khan governed Behar, and Ibrahim Khan, Bengal, that the English first visited these provinces. Some years previous to this time, agents had been sent, over land, from Surat to Agra, where they had established a factory; and, on their representation, two persons were sent (A. D. 1620) to Patna, to purchase cloths, and to establish a house of business in that city; but the great expense of land-

* See the interesting fate of this youth in the History of Hindoostan, vol. III. p. 105.

† The Empress Noor Jehan is said to have entirely changed the fashion of the ladies' dresses, to have invented a number of new ornaments to decorate their persons, and to have given great encouragement to the artisans and manufacturers.—*Tarikh Khafy Khan.*

carriage, first to Agra, and then to Surat, so enhanced the price of the articles, that in the following year the trade was abandoned*. SECT. VI.

The spirit of the Afghans was completely subdued; the Assamians were repelled, and the incursions of the Arracanners strictly watched by a fleet of war-boats. Thus situated, Bengal had every prospect of enjoying an undisturbed state of felicity; but the ill-timed ambition of a prince of the Royal family, who subsequently succeeded to the kingdom, lighted up the firebrand of war in these peaceful regions.

In order to elucidate this event, it becomes requisite to recur to the History of Hindoostan†, in which it will be found, that, in the year of the Hegira 1025, the Emperor Jehangire appointed his third son, Khoorum, to command the army destined for the conquest of the Dekkan, and on this occasion conferred on the prince the lofty title of Shah Jehan (King of the World).

The prince was successful; the chiefs of the Dekkan sued for peace, and agreed to pay an annual tribute; and Shah Jehan, in the following year, returned triumphant to court.

In the year 1029, whilst the Emperor was amusing himself in the delightful Valley of Cashmire, the tributary princes‡ of the Dekkan threw off their allegiance, and supported their rebellion by an army of 60,000 horse. A. D. 1619.

Shah Jehan was again detached to the Dekkan, with an army of 40,000 horse; and in the space of a few months,

* See Messrs. Hughes and Parker's Letter. Vol. I. of *India Records*, A. D. 1620.

† See Life of Jehangire, vol. III.

‡ Nizam Shah, Adil Shah, and Cuttub Shah. See Scott's History of the Dekkan.

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without any considerable action, he reduced the insurgents to their former obedience, forcing them to pay the arrears of their tribute, which was now settled at the annual sum of fifty-five lacs of rupees.

Rebellion of the Prince Shah Jehan, A. D. 1621.

In the year 1031, Shah Jehan, being again at the head of a numerous army devoted to his service, and convinced that, as long as his elder brother, Sultan Purvez, lived, he had no chance of succeeding to the throne, resolved to anticipate by force that which was ordained him by destiny.

The author of the History of Shah Jehan ascribes his rebellion to the violence and ambition of the Sultana Noor Jehan. "That woman," says the writer, "finding that the health of the Emperor declined, was apprehensive that the crown would devolve on Shah Jehan, who had for some time been the determined enemy of her influence and power; she therefore resolved to ruin the affairs of that prince, and to fix the succession in the person of Shariâr, the fourth son of Jehangire, who was married to her own daughter, by her former husband Shere Afgun." A sudden invasion of the Persians, and the capture of Candahar, was deemed by this unnatural son as a fit opportunity to strike the blow. On receipt of the Imperial orders to march his army from Burhanpore, and to repel the invaders, he threw off the mask, and on the twenty-seventh of Jemmad al Akhir, A. H. 1031, proclaimed himself Emperor of Hindoostan. A. D. 1621.

His next step was to proceed to Dehly, if not with the intention of deposing his father, at least with a resolution to assume the powers of government.

On his arrival in the vicinity of the capital, he wrote the

Emperor a letter, in which he stated the grounds of his complaints, and proposed to return to his duty on the following conditions: SECT. VI. A. D. 1621.

That the command of all the Imperial army should be given to him without reserve.

That the governors of provinces should receive their orders from him.

That he should have the free controul and command of all the arsenals and Royal magazines.

That the impregnable fort of Rentimpore should be placed in his hands, as a place of security for his family, during his campaigns against the Persians.

The Emperor, previously displeased at his conduct, was enraged at these insolent proposals. He issued an edict proclaiming his son a rebel, and confiscating all his estates and property: he further commanded all his loyal subjects immediately to join the Imperial army, to assist him in defence of his throne. By these spirited measures the Emperor soon found himself at the head of 40,000 horse, with which he advanced to meet his rebellious son.

The Emperor was impatient to come to an action; but Asuf Jah, the Vizier, opposed this measure, by affirming that it was imprudent to risk a defeat with so small a force, while reinforcements were daily expected. In fact, the army of the Punjab, under the command of a distinguished officer, named Mohabet Khan, joined the Imperial camp the next day; after which the ardour of the Emperor was no longer to be restrained; he attacked the rebels near Tuglickabad, defeated them, and compelled his son to flee to the Dekkan.

Shah Jehan was pursued by the armies of his elder brother,

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Sultan Purvez, and Mohabet. When he arrived on the banks of the river Nerbudda, he endeavoured to make a stand against them; but being again defeated, he fled to Golcondah. At this place he formed the bold resolution of seizing upon Bengal. Having given his fugitive troops time to join him, he took the route of Orissa; and before Ahmed Beg, the deputy-governor of that province, had any intelligence of his approach, he entered that territory. Ahmed Beg, quite unprepared to resist so sudden an attack, retreated with his troops, and left Orissa to the quiet possession of the Prince.

Shah Jehan invades Bengal.

Shah Jehan, after refreshing his army at Cuttack, appointed Cooly Khan governor of the province; he then advanced to Burdwan, and laid siege to that city, which after some days capitulated. During the time he was encamped before Burdwan, he recruited his army, by taking several of the Afghan chiefs, with their followers, into his service: he also wrote letters to all the Moghul officers, of whom he had any knowledge, inviting them to join his standard, and assuring them of every favour his gratitude could bestow.

It was immediately after the capture of Burdwan that Michael Rodriguez, the governor of Hoogly, apprehensive of an attack upon his settlement, went to pay his respects to the Prince; as at that period the Portuguese had acquired great power in India, and had, at Hoogly, a good corps of European artillery. The Prince was exceedingly anxious to attach them to his cause; he received the Governor with the greatest condescension, and promised him very great rewards, if he would assist him with some pieces of cannon, and a detachment of Europeans.

Rodriguez understood sufficient of the politics of Hin-

doostan, to see that the Prince's project was a desperate one, and very unlikely to be attended with success. He therefore prudently declined the offer of Shah Jehan; but did it in such terms that were considered as an insult, and, after the Prince's succession to the throne, drew on the unfortunate inhabitants of Hoogly the vengeance of that monarch. SECT. VI. A. D. 1621.

When intelligence of this unlooked-for invasion reached the governor, Ibrahim Khan, he was exceedingly perplexed; part of his army was employed in Chittagong against the Mughs; and other divisions of it were dispersed over the country, to enforce the collection of the revenues. He, however, immediately marched from Dacca with what forces he could collect, and took post at Rajemahel, where he ordered all his troops to rendezvous.

Shah Jehan, convinced that, in his situation, delays were dangerous, and that his success depended entirely upon prompt and vigorous measures, advanced, by rapid marches, towards the Governor; who, finding that the city of Rajemahel was incapable of standing a siege, retreated to the fortifications of Terriagurhy, upon which were mounted a number of cannon, served by vagabond Europeans of different nations, whom he had encouraged to enter his service: but not considering this place sufficiently secure, he entrusted the defence of it to one of his best officers, and encamped, with his army, on the opposite bank of the Ganges.

Whilst the contending armies were thus situated, Shah Jehan wrote the Governor a letter, replete with compliments for his fidelity and attachment to the Emperor, and some excuses for his own conduct, to which, he said, he was doubtless impelled by fate; that he considered the province of Bengal

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as beneath his notice; but that, as it lay in his route, he was obliged to pass through it, which he hoped to do without opposition;—that if Ibrahim Khan was partial to Bengal, he might make choice of any district in it he preferred, and retire thither with his wealth and family, where he should be permitted to continue in the enjoyment of every thing he desired: but if he preferred returning to Dehly, he was at liberty to depart, taking with him all his family and property, for which a safe-conduct should be granted, and the Prince's honour pledged for their security. To this insidious proposal Ibrahim Khan replied, that his Majesty had entrusted to him the care of that country, and the protection of its inhabitants; that he was grown old in the Imperial service, and, in all probability, had not many years longer to live; that he was willing to sacrifice those years to the performance of his duty; and if he died a martyr in the Royal cause, it would be a subject of fame to himself, and honour to his family; but that as long as he retained a spark of life, Bengal should acknowledge no master but *his* Sovereign.

Ibrahim Khan having taken the precaution to secure all the boats he could collect on his side the river, the army of Shah Jehan was prevented crossing; neither could they advance further on the southern bank, on account of the pass being in possession of the Royalists.

In this dilemma, Deriaw Khan, one of the Afghan chiefs whom the Prince had taken into his service, being known to some of the zemindars in the district of Boglipore, prevailed upon them to produce some boats, which they had sunk, and otherwise concealed from the Governor. The boats were, during the night, collected at a place some miles down the

river, in the vicinity of Sooty. At the break of day, Deriaw Khan, with his Afghan cavalry, crossed the Ganges, and was immediately followed by Abdullah Khan, who had deserted to the prince at the battle of Tuglickpore, and had ever since been his principal counsellor. SECT. VI. A. D. 1622.

When Ibrahim Khan found that the enemy had crossed the river, he withdrew as many of his troops as could be spared from the defence of Terriagurhy*; and, being thus reinforced, advanced to meet the rebel chiefs. The number of forces on each side were nearly equal, but the troops of Shah Jehan were better mounted. The Governor entrusted the command of the first line to his nephew, Ahmed Beg, who charged the enemy with great vigour; but his nephew being repulsed, the Governor advanced with the second line; and though requested by his friends not to risk his person in the heat of the engagement, he replied, "My life is of no consequence: I will devote it to the service of his Majesty, and either conquer or die." Having said this, he rushed with his corps of reserve into the thickest of the enemy; he was shortly surrounded, and fell covered with wounds: his death served as an excuse to his troops to quit the field; they fled towards Dacca, and left their camp to be plundered by the enemy. Defeat and death of the Governor.

During the period that Shah Jehan had been contriving means to cross the river, his engineer, Roumy Khan, had pressed forward the siege of Terriagurhy†: and, at the time that the battle was raging on the opposite bank, he set fire to a

* In order to conform to the orthography of Major Rennell's Map, I have written the names of the *passes* as he has done; but in the Persian character, they are written *Telyagurhy*, and *Sankrygully*.

† In the Jehangire Nameh, the fortress is said to have been merely an inclosed burying ground; but the long defence it made, does not coincide with that statement.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1622. mine, which blew up twenty yards of the fortifications, and opened a breach, through which the rebels rushed with impetuosity, and put the greater part of the garrison to the sword.

The capture of Terriagurhy, and the death of the Governor, decided the fate of Bengal; the authority of the Prince was everywhere acknowledged; and the zemindars and public officers hastened to make their terms with the conqueror.

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## SHAH JEHAN.

*Shah Jehan, after the victory, proceeds to Dacca—Takes possession of the public treasure and the Governor's property—Advances to Patna, and obtains possession of that city—Prevails upon the Governor of Rhotas to give up the fort, to which he sends his family—Advances to Benaras—Hearing of the approach of the Imperial army, he recrosses the Ganges, and takes post, with his army, on the banks of the Tonse river—A battle is fought between the two armies—The rebels are defeated, and the Prince retires to Rhotas—Proceeds to Patna—Orders Darab, whom he had left as Governor of Bengal, to join him—The Governor refuses—The Imperial army advances towards Patna—The Prince quits Bengal, writes a penitential letter to the Emperor, and is forgiven.*

A. D. 1622. THE Prince, whom we must now consider as the ruler of the province, lost no time in pursuing the few remaining Royalists. He seized upon all the boats that had been collected by both parties; and, having embarked the select part of his army, proceeded, with all possible despatch, down the river, to Dacca. Upon his arrival there, the gates of the fort were thrown open; and Ahmed Beg, the nephew of the late Governor, finding it in vain to contend, further waited on the Prince, and

delivered to him all the elephants, horses, and other property of his uncle; also 4,000,000 rupees in specie, belonging to government.

After this event, the Prince gave audience to the zemindars and public officers of government. He received them graciously; and having confirmed most of them in their appointments, he nominated a young nobleman, named Darab, the son of Khan Khanan, to the government of Bengal; but, as a security for his fidelity, obliged him to send his son along with the army, as a hostage.

After remaining a short time at Dacca, Shah Jehan marched towards Patna, which, at that period, was the jagier of the prince Purvez, who had entrusted the care and defence of it to Mukhliss Khan; but that officer, terrified at the approach of the rebels, abandoned his post, and fled to Allahabad.

Shah Jehan, having, without opposition, obtained possession of the capital of Behar, occupied the Soubahdar's palace, and summoned all the zemindars and public officers to attend his Court, and make a declaration of their allegiance. As he was now completely master of the three provinces, he found no difficulty in enforcing his wishes; and even Syed Mubarick, the governor of Rhotas, came and delivered to him the keys of that impregnable fortress. This event he considered of the greatest importance, as it afforded a secure asylum for his family, and the wives of his followers, during the uncertain issue of the approaching campaign. He therefore sent off his *haram*, and all his children, under charge of a careful officer, to Rhotas, with orders to remain there, either till his return, or till he should send a confidential person to bring them to

SECT. VI. A. D. 1622.

him. During the time this branch of the Royal family resided in Rhotas, the prince Morad Bukhsh was born.

Having refreshed and recruited his forces at Patna, the Prince appointed Byram Beg governor of Behar; and, having formed his army into three divisions, ordered Abdullah Khan, with the left, to proceed and conquer Allahabad. The right division he entrusted to Deriaw Khan, the Afghan, with directions to take possession of Oude; whilst the center division, under his own command, was destined to secure Joanpore and Benaras.

Hitherto fortune had favoured the audacious schemes of Shah Jehan: he was puffed up with success; and, on his route, assumed all the state and authority of the Sovereign. He advanced by short marches, listening to appeals from the decision of former governors, and settling the government of the country.

In the mean time, the Prince Purvez, and Mohabet Khan, who had lost sight of Shah Jehan for a considerable period after his flight from the river Nerbudda, having heard of his success in Bengal, marched through Malwa and Berar, with an intention of driving him from that province; but, on their approaching the vicinity of Allahabad, they learnt that he was already in their neighbourhood, and on his route towards Dehly.

Upon the arrival of the rebel forces, under Abdullah, at Joosy, on the bank of the river opposite to Allahabad, he found that Rustem Beg, the governor, had secured all the boats, and was prepared to oppose his crossing. Abdullah was therefore compelled to wait the arrival of some large boats, which accompanied the army from Bengal. In the mean time, he

employed his engineers in constructing batteries, on which he mounted several heavy cannon, that completely commanded the passage: the boats having joined him in a few days, he succeeded in crossing his troops, and took possession of the city of Allahabad. SECT. VI. A. D. 1624.

During these operations of the left wing, Deriaw Khan advanced, with the right, to Joanpore, and obtained undisputed possession of that district; whilst the Prince, with equal facility, became master of Benaras. After the conquest of Joanpore, Deriaw Khan continued his route to Manickpore; but at that place, having received intelligence of the approach of the Royal army, under Sultan Purvez, he deemed it prudent to retreat towards Benaras. Abdullah Khan also abandoned Allahabad; and both wings having formed a junction with the main body, Shah Jehan recrossed the river, and encamped on the banks of the Tonse, which falls into the Ganges, some miles below Allahabad, where he waited the approach of the Royal forces. This position was naturally strong; and, in case of a defeat, secured his safe retreat to Rhotas and Bengal, without having to cross the Ganges—a measure replete with danger, when pursued by a victorious enemy: he also secured all the boats that could be collected, under his own encampment.

Having taken these prudent precautions, the Prince called a council of war, in which it was the opinion of his most experienced officers, that he should not risk a general engagement, but remain entirely on the defensive. This opinion was, however, controverted by Raja Bhime, who declared, that in such a cause procrastination was ruin; and that, if the Moghuls and Afghans would not fight for their Prince, he himself would

SECT. VI. A. D. 1624.

attack the enemy with his Rajepoots. Shah Jehan, who possessed the greatest bravery, and could not brook delay, coincided in opinion with the Raja, and orders were given to prepare for battle.

In the mean time, the Royal army, having arrived at Allahabad, crossed the Jumna, and advanced against the rebels. The engagement commenced by a distant cannonade; but Mohabet, the Imperial general, finding that, by his numbers, he far outflanked his adversaries, ordered a division of his army to make a circuit to the right, and, crossing the Tonse, to get in the rear of the rebels: this manœuvre was dexterously performed, and Shah Jehan found himself surrounded on all sides: despair added resolution to his courage; with five hundred chosen horse, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy; but his army, with the exception of Raja Bhime, who was slain, not following his example, and his own horse having been shot under him, he was prevailed upon, by the entreaties of his friends, to quit the field, and retire to Rhotas.

Defeat of Shah Jehan.

As the Imperialists had suffered severely in the engagement, and their horses were much fatigued by long and continued marching, Sultan Purvez did not think proper immediately to pursue his brother; and in three days Shah Jehan had the pleasure of embracing his family in their secure and quiet retreat*. At Rhotas the Prince was joined by a number of his troops, who had escaped from the battle; and having again formed these into regular squadrons, he withdrew part of his family from the fort, and marched towards Patna: he at the same time sent orders to Darab Khan, whom he had left at

* Rhotas is situated in the mountains, far from the high road.

Dacca, as governor of Bengal, to advance to his assistance; but that ungrateful wretch, hoping to make his peace with the Royalists, abandoned his patrón in the hour of distress, and wrote to the Prince, that the zemindars had risen in arms on all sides of him, and totally prevented his quitting Dacca.

His treachery was too apparent; and the stern Abdullah Khan, in opposition to the will of the Prince, condemned to death the innocent son of Darab, who had been placed as a hostage in his hands.

The Royal army, having halted some days to refresh themselves in the vicinity of Benaras, continued their route towards Bengal: on their approaching Patna, Shah Jehan, finding that city untenable against so superior a force, abandoned it, and retired to Rajemahel: hence he was again driven, and compelled to retreat to the Dekkan, by the same route he had entered Bengal. Darab Khan, the governor, trusting to the clemency of Prince Purvez, and the interest of his father, who held the dignified title of Khan Khanan (Chief of the Nobility) in the Imperial Court, and was the son of the celebrated Byram Khan the preceptor of Akbar, came to the Royal camp, and gave himself up as a prisoner: the prince recommended him for forgiveness; but the Emperor, who had cruelly punished all the adherents of his son Khusero, after that prince's rebellion, refused to spare the favourite of Shah Jehan, and commanded that his head should be sent to Court, to serve as an example to all other traitors, however high their rank and connections.

Sometime after this event, Shah Jehan, being reduced to the greatest distress, wrote a penitential letter to his father: he was forgiven, on condition of sending orders to his adherents

SECT. VI. A. D. 1625.

to deliver up all the forts in their possession. By these means Rhotas became again subject to the Royal authority; and not a trace was left of Shah Jehan's having been for two years the possessor of these provinces.

Were we to judge of Shah Jehan's conduct by the rules of Christian morality, or by European policy, we should condemn it as unprincipled and unnatural; but if we refer to the events which took place on his accession to the empire, and several other instances which have since occurred, it will be manifest, that had his elder brother Purvez lived, Shah Jehan would have had no alternative, but the throne or the grave. If, therefore, he could have secured to himself, even during his father's life-time, the kingdom of Bengal, he would have been held excused, in the opinion of all his countrymen: and had he limited his ambition to that object, as he was a favourite of his father, there is little doubt but he might have gained the Emperor's consent to the measure. But he verified the Persian proverb, "Ten derveishes will sleep on one blanket, but two kings will not sleep in the same climate*;" for, on his accession to the throne, he destroyed every male (excepting his own children) of the posterity of Sultan Baber.

## KHANEZAD KHAN.

When the Emperor was informed of the flight of his son from Bengal, he nominated Mohabet Khan to the government of that province; but as he was anxious that so experienced an officer should still conduct the war against Shah Jehan, he commanded him to continue the pursuit, and to place his son,

* *Keleem* signifies a blanket; and *Akleem*, the fourteen climates, into which the world was divided by ancient geographers. The rhyme cannot be preserved in the translation.

Khanezad Khan, as his deputy in the government. We are unacquainted with any part of the conduct of this nobleman, further than that, when his father had seized upon the Emperor, and governed the empire with absolute sway, he remitted to Court the large sum of 22,000,000 of rupees in specie, being the surplus revenue of that province; but before its arrival at Dehly, Mohabet Khan had generously relinquished his power, and the money fell into the hands of his enemies. Khanezad Khan imitated the example of his father; and, to avoid the disgrace of being superseded, resigned his appointment, in the year 1035, and was afterwards most graciously received at Court. A. D. 1626. SECT. VI.

## MUKURREM KHAN.

On the removal of Khanezad, the Emperor appointed Mukurrem Khan to the government of Bengal; and bestowed Behar on Mirza Rustem, a Persian prince of the Sofy family.

'Mukurrem Khan took up his residence at Dacca; and as the eastern parts of Bengal are intersected by rivers and creeks, navigable at all seasons of the year, and as during the four months of the rains great part of the country is inundated, the usual mode of travelling is by water: on which account the Governors of Bengal have always kept up a large establishment of boats of every description, whether for state, war, or pleasure; and the veneration of the inhabitants for the tutelary deities, who are supposed to preside over the rivers and waters, is carried to an extreme, both by Hindoos and Mohammedans, bordering close upon idolatry: even the present Governors are obliged to comply with the superstition of their subjects, by making, at Dacca, an annual offering to

SECT. VI. A. D. 1626. Khuaje Khizer (supposed to be the Prophet Elias), to propitiate his good offices in protecting their inland commerce*.

Mukurrem Khan took great pleasure in aquatic excursions, and frequently went on the river, attended by his courtiers, seraglio, &c. About six months after his appointment to the government, he received intelligence that a letter of much importance, from the Emperor, was on its way to him. To evince his loyalty and respect to his sovereign, he ordered the state boats to be prepared, and set out from Dacca to meet the bearer of the letter. After sailing for some time up the river, and the hour of prayer drawing nigh, the Governor gave orders for the fleet to put on shore. It happened that the boat which his Excellency had made choice of on this occasion was exceedingly long and narrow, and much better adapted for rowing than for sailing: in attempting to gain the shore, the broad side of the vessel was brought to the current; a sudden squall at the same moment took the sail, and overset her: the servants and people who were on the deck escaped; but the Governor, and several of his courtiers who were in the state-room, could not extricate themselves, and were drowned.

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## FEDAI KHAN.

When the unfortunate fate of the late Governor was known at Court, his Majesty was pleased to nominate, in the year

* This offering consists of a boat, or ship, constructed of bamboos and coloured paper, ornamented with flags, lamps, &c. It is placed upon inverted earthen pots, and, being carried in procession to the river side, is launched into the river, amidst the acclamations of the populace and the discordant sounds of every kind of music, and floats down the current with majestic pomp. It is called the offering of the Biera.

1036, the Nuwab Fedai Khan to the government; and as, for a number of years, except the twenty-two lacks of rupees remitted by Khanezad Khan, no revenue had been sent from Bengal, the Emperor stipulated with the new Governor, that, in addition to the usual presents of elephants, silks, muslins, ambergris, amber, &c. he should annually remit to the exchequer a present of 500,000 rupees for the Royal use, and an equal sum for the use of the Empress Noor Jehan. SECT. VI. A. D. 1627.

Fedai Khan governed Bengal during the remainder of the reign of Jehangire; but soon after the death of that monarch, and the succession of Shah Jehan to the throne, which happened early in the year 1037, he was superseded by Cossim Khan, a favourite of the new Emperor. Feb. 1. A. D. 1628.

## COSSIM KHAN JOBUNY.

*The Governor takes offence at the Portuguese in Bengal—Represents their conduct to the Emperor, who orders them to be expelled from his dominions—The Governor makes preparations to attack Hoogly—The armies advance, and surround the town—The besieged defend themselves with great bravery—By the explosion of a mine, one of the bastions is destroyed—The Moghuls storm the fort—Many of the inhabitants retire on board their ships, and are there attacked by another division of the army—The Portuguese set fire to several of their own ships, but the greater part are taken by the enemy—Hoogly established as the Royal port of Bengal, and the public officers withdrawn from Saatgong—Cossim Khan dies.*

Some years after the arrival of Cossim Khan in Bengal, he took offence at the conduct of the Portuguese, many of whom had established themselves in various parts of the province;

SECT. VI. and assumed a degree of authority to which they were not entitled: he therefore wrote to the Emperor, that he was very much disturbed in the duties of his office by some European idolaters, who had been permitted to establish themselves at Hoogly, on the western bank of the Bagarutty river, for the purposes of trade; that, instead of confining their attention to the business of merchants, they had fortified themselves in that place, and were become so insolent, that they committed many acts of violence upon the subjects of the empire, and presumed to exact duties from all the boats and vessels which passed their factory, and had completely drawn away all the commerce from the ancient port of Saatgong. The Governor also represented, that the Portuguese were in the habit of kidnapping or purchasing poor children, and of sending them as slaves to other parts of India; and that their pirates, in consort with the Mughs, committed innumerable aggressions on the inhabitants of the districts on the eastern branch of the Ganges. This report recalled to the Emperor's mind the refusal of Michael Rodriguez, the Portuguese governor, to afford him any assistance when engaged in the rebellion against his father, and the offensive manner in which that refusal had been given: he therefore resolved to satiate his revenge, and ordered the Governor to expel the idolatrous Portuguese from his dominions.

In obedience to these orders, Cossim Khan, in the year
A. D. 1631. 1041, commenced preparations to attack Hoogly; but took his measures with such caution, that he completely concealed his intentions from the Portuguese. Having made the requisite arrangements, he gave out that he was about to subdue the refractory zemindars of the districts of Mukhsoosabad, and Hijelle. To effect his purpose, he directed a force, under Behadur

Kumbu, to proceed from Dacca to Mukhsoosabad; and a second army, under the orders of his own son, Inayet Allah, to march to Burdwan; whilst a third detachment, under the command of Khuaje Shere, proceeded by water, to take possession of the river below Hoogly, and, by constructing a bridge of boats at Seerpore*, to cut off the retreat of the Portuguese.

Khuaje Shere, having arrived at his post, sent intelligence to the other chiefs, who immediately advanced; and on the second of Zilhije (12th month) of the year 1041, the Royal army invested the town on all sides. Parties were immediately sent to plunder the district belonging to the Portuguese, and to destroy every person of that nation they could find: and as Hoogly had been for many years a considerable port, a number of mariners and boatmen were settled in the vicinity; all these were seized, and compelled to assist in erecting batteries, and to work the artillery, of the use of which the Moghuls were very ignorant.

Siege of Hoogly, A. D. 1632.

The siege was continued for three months and a half, during which time the Portuguese made frequent offers of submission, and agreed to pay a tribute of 100,000 rupees; but as they were in daily hopes of succour from Europe, or Goa, they did not relax in their defence, and, by their continual showers of musquet-balls, annoyed the besiegers to a great degree. The Moghul generals, finding all other efforts in vain, were obliged to have recourse to the miners; who, by carrying a sap to that part of the moat near the church, which was both narrower and shallower than any other place, by means of drains drew off the water. Some of the officers, while advancing their galleries in other places, discovered mines of the besieged, which

* Probably Sewrampore, commonly called Serhampore, now belonging to the Danes.

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Hoogly taken, October A. D. 1632.

they destroyed: the center mine, which was carried on by Behadur Kumbu, was conducted under a lofty bastion, upon which a great number of the besieged daily assembled. On the 14th of the month Rubby al Avul (3d month) of the year 1042, the mine, being ready, was loaded. The troops were then drawn out, and a column advanced towards the bastion; whilst the besieged, supposing it was to be attacked, collected there in great numbers. For some time a continued discharge of cannon and musquetry was kept up; when, at length, the mine being fired, the whole of the bastion, with the persons thereon, was blown into the air. The Mohammedans, on beholding this event, made a general assault. The slaughter of the Portuguese was very great: many, in attempting to escape to their boats, were drowned; a few of them got to their ships in safety, but there they were immediately attacked by Khuaje Shere and his division. The captain of the largest vessel, on which were embarked 2000 men, women, and children, with all their wealth, rather than yield to the Mohammedans, set fire to the magazine, and blew them up: many other ships followed his example. Out of sixty-four large vessels, fifty-seven grabs, and two hundred sloops, which were anchored opposite the town, only one grab and two sloops, belonging to Goa, made their escape; and these owed their safety to the bridge having been broken, by some of the boats taking fire from the flames of the ships.

Whatever property, either afloat or on shore, escaped the fury of the elements, was taken possession of by the conquerors; and all the pictures and images which ornamented the churches, the worship of which had given great offence to Taje Mahel, the empress of Shah Jehan, while in Bengal, were torn down and destroyed.

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From the commencement of the siege, till its conclusion, not less than 1000 of the Portuguese were destroyed; and 4400, men, women, and children, were taken prisoners: of these, some of the priests (against whom Shah Jehan, or his queen, had taken a great aversion), and 500 of the best-looking young persons, were sent to Agra. The girls were distributed among the *harams* of the Emperor and the nobility; and the boys were circumcised and made Mussulmans: the Jesuits and other friars were threatened with severe punishment if they did not abandon their religion and become Mohammedans; but, after some months confinement, were liberated, and sent to Goa*.

Hoogly, having thus come into the possession of the Moghuls, was established as the Royal port of Bengal. A regular Foujedar was appointed from Court, who, in the process of time, was made independent of the Governor; and all the public officers were withdrawn from Saatgong†, which soon declined into a mean village, now scarcely known to Europeans.

Shortly after this event, Cossim Khan, the governor, died

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* It is a circumstance worthy of remark, that the name of Hoogly is never mentioned in Faria De Souza's History of the Portuguese (the English translation of which was published in 1695), although he acknowledges that they lost a large town in Bengal in the year 1633, but which he calls Golin. Messrs. Hughes and Parker also, in their Letter from Patna, dated Dec. 1620, state, that the Portuguese are possessed of two forts in the bottom of Bengal; one called Pirpullye (probably Pipley); the other, Gollyr, or Gollin.

The best account of the origin of Hoogly which I have seen, may be found in the Appendix to the Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library, No. 37; but as that account does not define the period at which it was founded, it is reasonable to suppose that V. F. De Samprayo, the commander of the nine vessels which entered the Ganges in 1537-8, did not neglect so favourable an opportunity of establishing a settlement in Bengal (an object for which the Portuguese had been long anxious), during the time that Shere Shah was engaged in his contest with the Emperor Homayon.—See the Note in page 121.

† Saatgong was known to the Romans, by the name of *Ganges Regia*. It is a famous place of worship, and was formerly the residence of the kings of the country, and said to have been of an immense size.—See *Asiatic Researches*, 8vo edit. vol. V. p. 278.—See also *Rennell's Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan*, p. 45.

SECT. VI. at Dacca. He was much regretted by all the Mohammedans;
A. D. 1632. being a zealot in his religion, an encourager of literature, and himself an eminent poet.

### AAZIM KHAN.

THE Emperor was much distressed on receiving intelligence of the death of his favourite, the Governor of Bengal; and, in
A. D. 1632-3. the year 1042, appointed a nobleman, named Aazim Khan, to fill that important office.

It was during the government of Aazim Khan, and in consequence of a *firman** from Shah Jehan, that is to say, in the
A. D. 1634. year 1043, that the English first obtained permission to trade with their ships to Bengal; but as the Moghul government had felt the danger of allowing Europeans to enter the river Ganges, and to establish themselves as the Portuguese had done at Hoogly, the vessels were restricted from entering any other port than Pipley in Balasore; and it was at that place the English established their first factory in Bengal†.

The abilities of Aazim Khan were, however, not found equal to the arduous task of governing so extensive a province. He allowed his dominions to be invaded with impunity, both by the Mughs and people of Assam, who carried away much plunder, and many of the inhabitants into slavery. For this conduct he
A. D. 1637. was, in the year 1047, recalled to Court, and severely censured by the Emperor; but being a person of very illustrious descent, he was shortly forgiven, and appointed to the government of Allahabad. His daughter was a few months afterwards married to the Prince Shujaa.

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* The firman is dated Feb. 2, 1634.

† See *Bruce's Annals of the East-India Company*, A. D. 1633-4.

## ISLAM KHAN MUSHHEDY.

*Character of this officer—The Mugh Chief of Chittagong acknowledges himself a vassal of the Moghul Emperor—The Governor changes the name of Chittagong to Islamabad—The Assamese invade Bengal—opposed and defeated by the Governor, who pursues them into their own country—Returns to Dacca—Is appointed Vizier—Account of the rebellion of the Raja of Boujepore.*

THIS was an old and experienced statesman and soldier, who had acquired much celebrity during the late reign; but as the times required all the exertion of the latter character, he is accused of neglecting the civil and judicial duties, and of devoting all his time to military pursuits.

It was during his government, that Makat Ray, one of the Mugh chiefs, who held Chittagong on the part of the Raja of Arracan, having incurred the displeasure of that prince, and being apprehensive of an invasion by his sovereign, sought, in the year 1048, the protection of the Emperor of Hindoostan. He paid his respects to Islam Khan at Dacca, acknowledged himself a vassal of the empire, and made over the sovereignty of his territory. This is the first account we have of the conquest by, or surrender of, Chittagong to the Moghuls, although it is included as part of the Imperial dominions in the *Ayeen Akberry*‡. Its present A. D. 1638.

‡ Chittagong originally belonged to the once independent and extensive kingdom of Tipperah; but, being a frontier province, frequently changed its masters; and was sometimes governed by the followers of Brahma, and at other periods ruled by the worshippers of Boodh. From the latter it was probably taken by one of the Afghan kings of Bengal; as it is stated by Faria de Souza, that, in the year 1538, the Viceroy of Goa sent an agent with presents to Mahmood Shah; that the mission landed at Chittagong, and proceeded thence

SECT. VI. Mohammedan name of Islamabad corroborates the circumstance above related; though some historians have doubted whether it obtained that name previous to its conquest, twenty-eight years subsequent to this event.

Whilst Islam Khan was thus extending the boundaries of the empire, the inhabitants of Assam, encouraged by the success of their former depredations, collected, in the year
A. D. 1638. 1048, a great force; and embarking on the river Burhampooter, in five hundred large boats, rushed like a torrent on the plains of Bengal. They plundered all the towns and villages on the banks of the Burhampooter; and had nearly reached the capital of the province, when they were met by the Governor with a fleet of war-boats, many of which were armed with cannon: against these weapons the vessels of the Assamese could make little resistance; they were shortly in flames; and the crews, compelled to take to the shore, were attacked by the Moghul cavalry, and 4000 of them put to the sword.

Islam Khan followed up his victory, by pursuing the fugitives into their own country: he entered Assam, and took fifteen of their forts, in which he found much spoil. He afterwards subjected the whole district of Couch Behar, in

thence to Gour; but that the king, being suspicious of their intentions, seized, on the same day, thirteen persons at Gour, and thirty of the ship's company at Chittagong: in revenge for which, the Portuguese, some months after, burned the town of Chittagong. (See *Faria De Souza*, p. 418.) It was probably taken possession of by the Prince of Arracan during the contest between the Afghans and Moghuls, and was not again annexed to the empire till the government of Shaista Khan, as will hereafter be related. Abul Fazel has, in the same manner, included several of the provinces in the Dekkan in his *Tukseem Jumma*, which were not conquered till the reign of Aurungzebe. (See *Ayeen Akberry*, vol. II.)

The march of a British detachment, in the year 1794, to repel the Birmans, ascertained that the boundary of Chittagong was considerably further south than marked in the maps. The river Naaf is now the line of demarcation between the two countries.—See *Symes's Embassy to Ava*, p. 119.

which there were several strong fortresses; but as the rainy season was approaching, and as he found much difficulty in procuring grain for his troops, he deemed it prudent to retire, before the roads should be rendered impassable by the overflowing of the river.

He commenced his retreat; and, although much harassed by the enemy and the want of supplies, he brought the greater part of his army safe back to Bengal: but, upon his arrival at Dacca, he found an order to deliver over his government to the Nuwab Syf Khan, the deputy of the Prince Shujaa, second son of the Emperor; and to return to Court, to take on himself the office of Vizier. This situation he held for some years, and died as Subahdar of the Dekkan, in the year 1058.

During the period that Islam Khan was employed in Assam, the Raja of Boujepore took advantage of the temporary absence of the Governor of Behar, and extended the hand of usurpation over great part of that province. Abdullah Khan, the favourite general of Shah Jehan, and who had served him zealously during his rebellion, was immediately invested with the government of Behar, and ordered to proceed and punish the Zemindar. He proceeded by rapid marches; and having, on his first arrival, attacked and defeated the Raja, compelled him to take refuge in his fort of Boujepore, then considered a place of considerable strength. Abdullah regularly invested the fortress; and, after some weeks, succeeded in making a practicable breach, when orders were given for the troops to prepare for the assault: but before they advanced, the Raja threw open the gate, and with his wife and children proceeded to the camp of the conqueror. Abdullah was inclined to have pardoned the Raja; but on the approach of the

SECT. VI. unfortunate family, some of his minions whispered to him, that the lady was celebrated for her beauty. This circumstance decided the fate of the prince; the head of the rebel was sent to Court; and his wife was kept to adorn the seraglio of the Mohammedan officer*.

## SULTAN MOHAMMED SHUJAA.

*Sultan Shujaa appointed Governor—Again transfers the seat of government to Rajemahel—Appoints his father-in-law to be his deputy at Dacca—Account of Mr. Boughton, an English surgeon, who obtained considerable privileges for his nation—The Prince recalled to Court—Appointed Governor of Cabul—Re-appointed to Bengal—His character—State of Bengal under his government—Indisposition of the Emperor Shah Jehan—Shujaa asserts his claim to the throne—Advances to Benaras—Dara, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, marches from Dehly—Detaches his son Soliman with a numerous army to oppose Shujaa—The contending armies encamp on opposite sides of the Ganges—Raja Jy Sing endeavours to negociate a peace between them—Shujaa agrees to retire; but Soliman, anxious for an opportunity of displaying his military talents, crosses the Ganges, and surprises the Bengal camp—Shujaa, compelled to flee, takes refuge in Mongeir—Receives information of the defeat of Dara by his brother Aurungzebe, and of the latter having usurped the throne—Dubious what line of conduct to pursue—Writes a letter of congratulation, and sends an envoy to Aurungzebe—Shujaa again takes the field—Advances to Allahabad—Proceeds to Kudgwa—The army of Aurungzebe arrives at the same place—A battle ensues, in which Shujaa had the advantage; but neglecting to secure the ground in front of his encampment, is attacked the following day, and, after a hard-fought contest, completely*

* If the Hindoos would take the trouble to read History, how ought they to rejoice in their change of masters: but, slaves to the system of fatalism, they look with apathy on the vicissitudes of this world, and consider every event as pre-ordained.

*defeated—Reflections on his conduct—Shujaa retires to Patna—Is pursued by the Prince Mohammed and Meer Jumla—Shujaa retreats to Mongeir—fortifies that post, and the passes of Terriagurhy and Sichlygully—Mohammed takes Patna—Joined by Meer Jumla—The latter obtains information of another road into Bengal—Mohammed advances, by easy stages, towards Mongeir; whilst his coadjutor enters the western hills, and gains possession of the district of Bissuntpore—Shujaa, again compelled to retreat, proceeds to Rajemahel—The Royal army invests that city—Shujaa flees to Tondah—The setting-in of the rains, and swelling of the river, stop any further pursuit—The Royal army cantons in the vicinity of Rajemahel—Shujaa recruits his army, and harasses the Imperial camp—The Prince Mohammed, having been betrothed to one of his cousins, deserts to Shujaa—Conduct of Meer Jumla on this occasion—The marriage between the Prince Mohammed and the daughter of Shujaa celebrated at Tondah—Great rejoicings thereon—The Imperialists prepare to cross the Ganges—Shujaa encamps his army—assigns a conspicuous post to his new Son-in-law—The Imperialists cross the river—A battle ensues—Shujaa is defeated, and flees towards Dacca—Jumla takes possession of Tondah—Conduct of the Emperor Aurungzebe upon receiving intelligence of the desertion of his son Mohammed—Stratagem to break the connection between Mohammed and Shujaa—the plan succeeds—Shujaa dismisses his Son-in-law and daughter—Arrives at Dacca—Forsaken by his troops—Resolves to seek refuge at Chittagong, or Arracan—Enters the country of Tipperah—Arrives at Chittagong—disappointed at not finding any ships there—Continues his journey to Arracan—At first favourably received by the Raja—The Raja alters his conduct—Sends an insolent message to the Prince—Orders him to quit his territories—Magnanimous conduct of Shujaa on this occasion—The Raja accuses the Prince, to his Council, of having formed a plot to seize the kingdom—The Arracan troops surround the Prince and his small party—A combat ensues—greater part of the Moghuls killed—Shujaa taken prisoner—Drowned—The Princess stabs herself in despair—The daughters seized, and one of them forcibly married to the Raja—The sons put to death.* SECT. VI.

EARLY in the year 1049, Sultan Shujaa, the second son of the Emperor Shah Jehan, then twenty-four years of age, took A. D. 1639.

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possession of the government of Bengal; but his father, fearing to trust him with too much power, conferred the government of Behar on Shaista Khan, the son of the vizier Asuf Jah, and nephew of Noor Jehan.

The seat of government transferred to Rajemahel.

Shujaa again transferred the seat of government to Rajemahel (termed, in the records of that time, *Akbarnagur*), and built there an elegant palace, some of the rooms of which are yet standing. He also strengthened the fortifications which had been erected by Raja Mān Sing, and expended large sums of money in rendering the city worthy of his residence; but, the following year, nearly the whole of the city, and the principal part of the palace, were destroyed by a dreadful conflagration, in which many lives were lost, and the family of the Prince with difficulty escaped.

About the same time, the current of the Ganges changed its bed, and poured its torrents against the walls of the new capital, washing away many of the stately edifices.

Previous to that time, the course of the Ganges was along the northern bank, running under the walls of Gour; but since that period, it pours its torrents against the rocks of Rajemahel, forming eddies and whirlpools, dangerous to the incautious or impatient traveller*.

In consequence of the youth and inexperience of Shujaa, the Emperor took the precaution of sending with him Aazim Khan, who had been Governor of Bengal for nearly five years, and to whose daughter the Prince was lately married, as his chief counsellor and adviser; but Shujaa, either wishing to make him a handsome provision, or to be freed from the superintendance of his father-in-law, appointed that nobleman to

* See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. V. p. 271. 8vo edit.

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reside as his deputy at Dacca; but he, being shortly disgusted with that situation, was, by his own request, removed to the government of Allahabad: whence he was transferred to Joanpore, and died there, in the year 1059, aged seventy-six years. He was buried in his own garden, in the vicinity of that city, where his tomb is still shewn.

The early part of Sultan Shujaa's government was distinguished by his condescension to the English; and by his granting them permission to establish factories, both at Ballasore and at Hoogly; but their ships were not yet permitted to enter the Ganges.

The cause of this partiality to a nation which was destined to become the rival power, and ultimately the support of the descendants of Timour, is thus satisfactorily accounted for.

A. D. 1636.

In the year of the Hegira 1046, a daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan having been dreadfully burnt, by her clothes catching fire, an express was sent to Surat, through the recommendation of the vizier Assud Khan, to desire the assistance of an European surgeon. For this service the Council at Surat nominated Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the ship *Hopewell*, who immediately proceeded to the Emperor's camp, then in the Dekkan, and had the good fortune to cure the young Princess of the effects of her accident. Mr. Boughton, in consequence, became a great favourite at Court; and, having been desired to name his reward, he, with that liberality which characterizes Britons, sought not for any private emolument; but solicited that his nation might have liberty to trade, free of all duties, to Bengal, and to establish factories in that country. His request was complied with, and he was furnished with the means of travelling across the country to Bengal. Upon his

Mr. Boughton, an English surgeon, obtains privileges for his nation.

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A. D. 1638.

arrival in that province, he proceeded to Pipley; and, in the year 1048, an English ship happening to arrive in that port, he, in virtue of the Emperor's firman*, and the privileges granted to him, negociated the whole of the concerns of that vessel without the payment of any duties.

In the following year, the Prince Shujaa, having taken possession of the government, Mr. Boughton proceeded to Rajemahel, to pay his respects to his Royal Highness: he was most graciously received; and one of the ladies of the *haram* being then indisposed with a complaint in her side, the English surgeon was again employed, and had the good fortune to accelerate her recovery. Owing to this event, Mr. Boughton was held in high estimation at the Court of Rajemahel; and, by his influence with the Prince, was enabled to carry into effect the orders of the Emperor, which might otherwise have been cavilled at, or, by some underhand method, have been rendered nugatory.

A. D. 1640.

In the year 1050, the same ship returned from England, and brought out a Mr. Bridgeman, and some other persons, for the purpose of establishing factories in Bengal. Mr. Boughton, having represented the circumstance to the Prince, was ordered to send for Mr. Bridgeman: that gentleman, in consequence, went to Rajemahel, was introduced to the Prince, and obtained an order to establish, in addition to that at Pipley, factories at Ballasore and Hooglyt. Some time after this event, Mr. Boughton died; but the Prince still continued his liberality and kindness to the English.

English factories established at Ballasore and Hoogly.

* I was not able to find a copy of this firman among the Indian records; but Mr. Bruce mentions that it is in the State-paper Office, and is dated Feb. 2, 1633-4.

† See *East-India Records*, vol. xiv. p. 22.

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For eight years Shujaa ruled Bengal with great justice and propriety; but as Shah Jehan made it a practice to change his governors frequently, and was jealous of the power and authority he had himself conferred on his sons, he, in the year 1057, sent an order to the Prince, to deliver over the government to the Nuwab Aitcad Khan, and to repair to Court, as he was anxious again to have the pleasure of seeing him, after so long an absence. A. D. 1647.

Upon the arrival of Shujaa at Lahore, where the Emperor then held his Court, he was received in the most affectionate manner; but in a few months was appointed to the government of Cabul. This was a severe mortification to the Prince, who, in common with his brothers, disliked the northern provinces; whose snowy mountains, and uncouth inhabitants, suited not the habits and inclinations of young men accustomed to the luxuries and docile manners of the natives of the south.

For two years, however, Shujaa was compelled to do penance in Cabul; but, at the expiration of that period, he was allowed to return to Bengal, and received the province in the same state he had left it. Aitcad Khan, the governor, expecting that the Prince would shortly return, considered himself merely as a *locum-tenens*, and neither altered nor abrogated any of his laws or regulations‡. A. D. 1649.

The following account of Sultan Shujaa, taken from the

‡ "Aitcad Khan was the younger brother of Shaista Khan, and son of Asuf Khan, brother of the Empress Noor Jehan: being a man of pleasure, and possessing a handsome fortune, he did not wish for any public employment, but spent his time either at the capital, or in visiting his brother, and other excursions of pleasure." *Mussir al Omrah.* In this instance, he appears to have taken charge of Bengal merely to oblige the Emperor, with whom he was a great favourite.

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Character of Shujaa.

History of Hindoostan, will enable the reader to form a judgment of his character: "Shujaa was humane in his disposition, averse to cruelty, an enemy to oppression: in the execution of justice he had no respect of persons, except when the natural tenderness of his disposition gave his mind a bias towards the unfortunate. Though honest, like his brother Dara, he was not so open and free. He never told a falsehood; but he did not always tell the whole of the truth. He was more tranquil, more close and reserved, than Dara; and he was more fitted for the intrigues of party, and that management which is necessary to direct the various passions of men to one point. He was generous to his friends, and did not disdain to hear their advice, though he, for the most part, followed his own judgment of things. He was fond of pomp and magnificence, and much addicted to the pleasures of the *haram*. Graceful and active in his own person, he loved in women that complete symmetry of limbs which rendered him the favourite of the sex; and he spared no expense in filling his seraglio with ladies remarkable for their beauty and accomplishments. In their society he spent too much of his time; but the warmth of his constitution did not make him neglect the necessary affairs of life. During his long government of Bengal, he won the affections of the people by the softness of his manners, and his exact and rigorous execution of justice; and the country flourished in commerce and agriculture, under the protection which he invariably gave to industry. In battle he was brave; nor was he destitute of the talents necessary for a General: and we must attribute his misfortunes in the field to the effeminacy of his troops, more than to his own want of conduct."

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If such was the real character of Shujaa, we may suppose that the Court of Rajemahel rivalled that of Dehly in splendour and luxury; and that the opulent citizens, and persons in office, imitating the example of their Governor, imparted a taste for pleasure and expense to the inhabitants of the province in general; who, secured from all fears of foreign invasion by the affinity of their Prince with the Imperial throne, and protected by his impartial administration of justice from domestic oppression, probably enjoyed more happiness under Shujaa than they had experienced under any former Mohammedan governor.

During this period, it appears that the European nations had every facility given to their commerce; and that the English, in consequence of Shah Jehan's firman, and the privileges obtained by Mr. Boughton, enjoyed a free trade with Bengal: they were also at liberty to export any quantity of saltpetre they pleased; the value of which, in consequence of the civil war then raging in England, was very much enhanced*. He also granted the English his special *nishan*, or order, for freedom of trade.

For nine years after Shujaa's return to the government, the inhabitants of Bengal enjoyed an uninterrupted state of prosperity: but when, in the year 1068, the indisposition of the Emperor threw all Hindoostan into a state of convulsion, by the contentions of his four sons for the throne, the eastern provinces felt the shock; and the melody of the flagelet and tambourine was changed for the shrill notes of the trumpet, and martial sound of the kettle-drum. A. D. 1657.

* See *Bruce's Annals*, A. D. 1651-2. Also Appendix, No 2.

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A. D. 1657. Shujaa asserts his claim to the Imperial throne.

Sultan Shujaa was the first, who, upon hearing of the dangerous illness of his father, took the field. He excused his precipitation to his followers, by avowing his conviction, that if his elder brother, Dara, succeeded to the throne, he had no prospect but death, or perpetual imprisonment.

The resources which he possessed were considerable; his treasury was well filled; his army numerous, and, to appearance, effective: he was also supported by the good wishes and affections of his subjects.

When Shujaa first hoisted the banner of hostility, he issued a manifesto, stating, that the Emperor was dead, and not without suspicion of treachery; and although he received letters from his father, announcing his recovery, he alleged that they were forged by Dara, to deceive him, and to gain time; he therefore continued his march to the vicinity of Benaras, and gave orders to construct a bridge of boats across the Ganges. In the mean time, he received intelligence that his youngest brother, Morad, had assumed the Imperial titles in Guzerat, and was on his march to Dehly, to assert his claim to the throne. This information afforded him at once pleasure and chagrin. He was gratified to think the attention and force of Dara would be divided, when assailed both from the east and the west: but it vexed him to find, that, after conquering Dara, he would still have another rival to subdue. Dara had the earliest intelligence of the designs of his brother in Bengal; and under pretence of a change of air being recommended to the Emperor, he removed him, and the whole Court, from Dehly to Agra. He had previously sent his son Solimān, with a chosen detachment of ten thousand horse, to secure Allahabad; and as soon as he received intelligence of

Shujaa having commenced his march, he sent off Raja Jy Sing, and Dilere Khan, with a large reinforcement, to join his son. SECT. VI.

The orders of the Prince were, to attack Shujaa with the utmost vigour; and compel him either to retreat, or to destroy him: but previous to the Raja's departure from Agra, the Emperor sent for him in private, and requested him, if possible, to negociate a peace between the brothers; and to persuade Shujaa to return quietly to Bengal. A. D. 1659.

Whilst Shujaa was busily employed in preparing his bridge, at Behadurpore in the vicinity of Benaras, the army of Solimān appeared on the opposite bank. But, previous to the commencement of hostilities, the Raja Jy Sing, in obedience to the directions of the Emperor, opened a negociation with the Prince; in which he pointed out to him the evils of a civil war, and the impolicy of opposing Dara, who, supported by the name and authority of his father, could command all the resources of the empire. Shujaa, convinced by his reasoning, and finding it impossible to conceal from his army the recovery of the Emperor, agreed to return to his government, and to disband his army.

The active spirit of the young Solimān, however, did not brook this negociation which Raja Jy Sing was carrying on without his participation: he endeavoured to break it off; and when concluded, he refused his assent: but, in the mean time, he had employed several persons to search for a ford, or to discover the narrowest part of the river, which, it being then the dry season of the year, was uncommonly low. On the day the truce was concluded, his spies brought him information, that, a few miles up the Ganges, his cavalry might cross with

SECT. VI. A. D. 1658.

little difficulty. He communicated not his intentions to the Raja; but, under pretence of changing the ground of his encampment, he, in the middle of the night, marched off, and before break of day had crossed the river with his own troops and those of Dilere Khan. He then sent orders to the Raja to follow him; and, moving on with rapidity, he completely surprised the Bengal camp.

Shujaa, who had secured all the boats previous to the arrival of his adversaries, considered the Ganges as an insuperable barrier to their attacking him; and, lulled into further security by the negociation he had concluded, was taken totally unprepared. He was rouzed from his sleep by the clashing of arms, and the shouts of the enemy. He started up, seized his arms, and, to render himself conspicuous to his troops, mounted an elephant; but all his efforts to stop their flight was in vain: a few of his officers gathered round him, and fought bravely, but they were compelled, by superior numbers, to retreat to the river side, where they embarked on board the swift-rowing boats of Bengal, and were quickly conveyed to Patna. The capture of Shujaa's elephants, horses, and rich camp equipage, gratified the avarice and vanity of Solimān, and for a time stopt the pursuit. But the Imperial army soon followed the fugitives; and Shujaa, upon their approach, abandoned Patna, and retreated to Mongeir. The fortifications of Mongeir stopt Solimān, till he received orders from his father to return with all haste to Agra, to assist him in opposing his brothers Aurungzebe and Morad, who had united their forces, and combined against him.

The retreat of Solimān rouzed the drooping spirits of Shujaa, and he hastened to levy a new army; but when he

received intelligence of the defeat of Dara, the captivity of the Emperor, and the usurpation of the throne by his younger brother Aurungzebe*, he was confounded, and knew not what to do. After much consideration, and advice of his counsellors, in order to gain time, he wrote to Aurungzebe, congratulating him on his success, and soliciting a confirmation of his government. SECT. VI. A. D. 1658.

The new Emperor, judging of others by his own feelings, was not to be deceived by such apparent moderation; he, however, treated the envoy of Shujaa with much attention, and was very particular in his inquiries respecting his master's family, and the state of his health: he concluded, by desiring the envoy to inform his brother, that, in the present state of affairs, the granting him a new commission for his government was unnecessary, and, in fact, improper; as he only considered himself the vicegerent of his father, whose infirmities, although they disabled him from wielding the sceptre with effect, did not annul his former appointments. This answer, though not satisfactory, was perhaps as much as Shujaa expected, and afforded him time to complete his preparations; but, in the mean while, it allowed Aurungzebe an opportunity of crushing the power of Dara, of subduing all his other enemies, and firmly establishing himself on the throne.

Shujaa at length threw off the mask, and, from a subject to Aurungzebe, became his competitor for the empire. In the year 1069, he marched from Bengal, with a numerous and well-appointed army; but which, being principally composed of new levies, he was under the necessity of instructing in A. D. 1659.

* See History of Hindoostan, A. D. 1658.

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their duties, whilst advancing to the attack of an army of veterans. He arrived at Allahabad, and crossed the Ganges, without opposition. He halted there for some days; and afterwards proceeded thirty miles, to Kudgwa: at that place the advanced troops of Aurungzebe, under the command of his son Mohammed, came in sight; and orders were given to the Bengal army to throw up entrenchments in their front and left flank; the right being protected by the river.

The Imperial standards made their appearance the following day. Aurungzebe encamped his army opposite his brother's; leaving an extensive plain between the two camps, for a field of battle. On the morning of the 15th, both armies were drawn out in battle array; and, about noon, the cannonade commenced. Shujaa had placed his artillery on a rising ground, in front of his line; and his batteries being well served, the shot plunged into the thickest part of Aurungzebe's line, and, after destroying a number of his people, compelled him to retire.

At this time, Maharaja Jeswint Sing, who commanded the Rajepoot and other Hindoo troops in the service of Aurungzebe, not only deserted his post, but attacked and plundered the Royal camp, which had been left standing some miles in the rear of the army. They seized upon the treasure, cattle, and baggage of the principal officers, and retreated with them towards Agra. This event threw the army of Aurungzebe into great confusion; and had Shujaa been aware of the Raja's intention, and taken advantage of it, he might have obtained an easy victory*.

* Khafy Khan, author of the *Muntekhub al Lebab*, says the Raja did inform Shujaa of his intention; but the result of the contest is a strong evidence of the contrary.

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Shujaa took no advantage of the confusion into which his brother's army was thrown; but, in the evening, allowed the whole of his own troops, together with the cannon, to return within his entrenchments; without taking any precaution to secure the rising ground, which had been so useful to him during the day. This oversight was soon perceived by Meer Jumla, a distinguished officer in Aurungzebe's service; who, having obtained permission, advanced during the night, and threw up a redoubt on the place, well lined with cannon, and defended by a select party of infantry.

As soon as day-light appeared, the negligent Shujaa was awoke by the shot from the redoubt piercing his tents, and the cries of his women. He arose, and saw his error; but it was then too late; and the only remedy left, was, to move his tents to another part of the line.

Aurungzebe, who perceived the commotion in the enemy's camp, thought this a proper opportunity to make a general assault. His army was already drawn out; and he ordered his elephants to advance and tread down the entrenchments.

The troops of Shujaa, however, defended themselves with great resolution: after some hours hard fighting, they compelled their enemies to retire; and, in turn, became the assailants. The Prince, mounted upon an enormous elephant, led the attack. He saw Aurungzebe at a distance, mounted in a similar manner. Fate now seemed to have placed the decision of the battle in his own hands. He ordered his driver to break through the crowd, and to impel the animal against that on which his brother rode. One of the officers of Aurungzebe, who was also mounted on an elephant, perceiving the intentions of Shujaa, rushed forward to meet him: the officer was

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overturned by the shock; but the elephant of Shujaa suffered so much by the concussion, that he stood for a time trembling in every joint, and could not be again induced to move forward. The disappointed Prince was enraged at his adverse fortune; but, in this dilemma, a driver of the war elephants that attended the Prince advanced against the Emperor, and, by the impetuosity of the first shock, brought the Royal elephant on his knees. Aurungzebe, alarmed at his situation, was about to dismount; when Meer Jumla, who was on horseback near him, called out, "Aurungzebe, you descend from the throne!" The Emperor took the hint, and resumed his seat: in the mean time, his elephant, having recovered, arose, but would not advance. Whilst in this situation, one of the servants, who sat behind Aurungzebe, shot the driver of the other elephant; but the furious animal still continuing to fight, the driver of the Emperor's elephant dexterously mounted him, and drove him off; whilst the servant, beforementioned, took the driver's seat in front of his master, who, finding his elephant very unsteady, and much inclined to run away, gave orders for the chain, which was used to fasten the animal, to be locked round his feet: by this means he was prevented from stirring from the spot.

As it often happens that the success of a battle depends, apparently, upon an inadequate cause, this determination and coolness of Aurungzebe convinced his followers that he was resolved to conquer or to die; and, admiring his magnanimity, they rallied round him, and repulsed the attack of the enemy.

Shujaa, finding that his troops began to give way, and that the elephant on which he rode was become untractable, by the advice of Aliverdy Khan (who is said to have been bribed by Aurungzebe), in an unlucky moment quitted the elephant, and

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mounted his horse. This action could have been seen by only a few of his men, who were near his person; but the greater part of the army perceiving the *ambhary* (seat with a canopy) empty, concluded their master was slain, and fled with precipitation. Aurungzebe was not in a situation immediately to pursue; and night, coming on, gave the fugitives leisure to effect their retreat, though at the expense of their artillery, stores, and camp equipage.

A. D. 1659, Sultan Shujaa defeated by Aurungzebe.

The circumstances which took place, both in this battle and that of Benaras, by no means entitle Shujaa to the panegyric passed on him by the author of the History of Hindoostan: in neither instance did he evince any skill or foresight as a general. He allowed himself to be shamefully surprised on both occasions, and sacrificed his troops by his negligence and want of circumspection: it was also a circumstance well known, that his brother Dara had lost the victory by alighting from his elephant: Shujaa should therefore have taken warning by his example, and have kept his seat, though surrounded with danger and difficulty. As a politician, his talents must appear despicable: doubtless he should have had agents in the enemy's camp, to inform him of the dispositions of the chiefs. The event proved, that one third of Aurungzebe's army, headed by the Maharaja, were disaffected to his cause; and had the attack of Shujaa been combined with the retreat of the Hindoos, there can be little doubt that the contest would have terminated differently. So strongly were his contemporaries convinced that he lost the battle from his want of prudence, that it is since become a proverbial saying in Hindoostan,

"Sujaa jeet bazy, apna haat hara."

Shujaa having won the game, threw it up with his own hands.

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Terror and disgrace were the companions of Shujaa's flight: he changed his clothes; he threw off every mark of distinction; and hurried back to Patna as a private man. He not only feared his enemies, but those who had hitherto been his friends: he apprehended that the bribes of Aurungzebe would turn the swords of his own soldiers against him; and he feared to put confidence in any man. At length, arrived at Patna, he felt re-assured, and announced to his family and subjects his safe return.

The morning after the battle, Aurungzebe detached his son Mohammed, with ten thousand chosen horse, to pursue the unfortunate Shujaa. His orders were, not to relinquish the pursuit, till he had captured the fugitive, or reached the gates of Patna. The young man literally obeyed his instructions; and arrived at that city a very short time after his uncle, who, alarmed at the sudden appearance of the enemy, continued his retreat to Mongeir.

In the mean time, the anxiety of Aurungzebe being quieted with respect to the consequences of Maharaja Jeswint Sing's revolt, he ordered Meer Jumla, who then bore the title of Khan Khanan, with a numerous and well-appointed army, to follow the footsteps of the Prince Mohammed, and to assist him in driving Shujaa from Bengal.

Soon after the arrival of Shujaa at Mongeir, he was joined by a number of his dispersed followers; and, having received some reinforcements from Bengal, he strengthened the fortifications of Mongeir, by deepening the ditch; and threw up entrenchments from the fort to the hills, which formed a complete barrier against the enemy's advancing on that side of the river. He also sent orders to strengthen the works of

Terriagurhy and Sicklygully, and to place garrisons of his best troops therein SECT. VI. A. D. 1659.

The Prince Mohammed having with little difficulty made himself master of the city of Patna, waited there for the arrival of his coadjutor, Meer Jumla, and the main body of the army.

After the arrival of that experienced officer at Patna, he sent intelligent spies, to procure him exact information of Shujaa's position; and having learnt that it was such as would require much time and difficulty to force, he summoned the zemindars of the neighbourhood of Patna to attend him; and from them he forced the confession, that there was another road by which he might enter Bengal, but that it was circuitous, narrow, and steep; and little used, on account of the difficulties it presented, and the savage manners of the mountaineers. This information was sufficient for Jumla: he selected twelve thousand of his best horse; and, unencumbered with any baggage, he took the route of Sheregotty*, which is situated in the mountains of Jarcund. In the mean time, the Prince Mohammed, with the remainder of the Royal army, proceeded, by easy marches, towards Mongeir, and encamped within a few miles of the fort. For several days after, skirmishing parties advanced from the camp, and made a show as if they intended to assault the entrenchments: by these means the attention of Shujaa was occupied, till his couriers brought him information that the enemy had entered the Bissuntpore province in his rear, and were advancing against his capital.

* A military high road was made about thirty years ago, by this route, from Benares to Calcutta, which is one third shorter than the old road.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1659. This intelligence overwhelmed Shujaa with grief and astonishment; he immediately withdrew his troops from the trenches, and retreated to Rajemahel, in which were lodged his family and treasures.

The road being thus left open, the Royal army advanced; and having stormed the passes of Terriagurhy and Sicklygully, invested Rajemahel on one side, while Meer Jumla occupied the other: a communication between the armies was speedily effected; and in a few days the batteries opened against the walls of the city.

For six days, Shujaa resisted all the attacks of the enemy; but was then convinced that the place was no longer tenable. He embarked his family and all his valuables on board boats; and, during a dark and stormy night, crossed over the river to Tondah, the fortifications of which he immediately ordered to be repaired. Fortunately for the fugitive Prince, on the very night that he made his escape, the rainy season set in with great violence: the rivers were swollen by torrents from the mountains, and the Royal camp was laid under water. Meer Jumla, seeing it impossible to pursue Shujaa, and that there was no remedy, was obliged to canton his army, for four months, in the vicinity of Rajemahel.

This respite afforded to the unfortunate Shujaa an opportunity of collecting all his troops from the lower part of Bengal. He also drew from thence a great train of artillery, which was well served by Portuguese, and other Europeans, who willingly entered his service; for that prince, being of a generous disposition, and free from bigotry, gave encouragement to people of all nations and religions; and, it is said, promised the Monks, who, since the destruction of Hoogly,

were dispersed in different parts of the country, that, if he was successful, he would rebuild their churches, and restore them the privileges they enjoyed under the emperors Jehangire and Akbar. The affairs of that prince began now to assume a more favourable aspect: his troops, finding themselves supported by a good train of artillery, and regularly paid, resumed their confidence; and the eastern parts of Bengal, being intersected by rivers, still afforded many opportunities of prolonging the war, and of exhausting the patience and perseverance of his enemies.

During the time the armies lay in this position, the war-boats of Shujaa frequently crossed the river, and cannonaded the enemy's camp; and, by night attacks, kept them in such a constant state of alarm, that Jumla found it advisable to abandon the city of Rajemahel, and to encamp his army at some distance from the river side.

At this juncture, an event occurred which, for a time, rejoiced and animated the friends of Shujaa, and caused great alarm and anxiety to the new Emperor and his generals.

Love of Prince Mohammed for the daughter of Shujaa.

The Prince Mohammed, who, in conjunction with Jumla, commanded the Imperial army, had, before the breaking out of the civil war, been betrothed to his cousin, the daughter of Shujaa: the animosity between the brothers prevented the consummation of the marriage, and the friends of both parties supposed it was irrevocably broken off: even Mohammed, in the tumult of the camp, seemed to have forgotten the extolled charms of his cousin; but the Princess, moved by compassion for her father, wrote to him an affecting letter with her own hand. She lamented, in the most pathetic terms, the hardness of her fate, which had compelled her to see the man whom she had long considered as her husband waging relentless war

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against her beloved parent, and pursuing him and his family to destruction. This condescension, on the part of an amiable girl, rekindled the latent spark of affection and love in the breast of Mohammed: he resolved to relinquish all his prospects of the empire, to forfeit his father's favour, and to abandon "all the world for love." He, however, flattered himself, that a great portion of the army, who were strongly attached to him for his bravery and liberality, would follow him, and espouse the cause of Shujaa.

Some time after the commencement of the correspondence, the General, Meer Jumla, having removed his camp some distance from Rajemahel, the Prince considered it a favourable opportunity to sound the disposition of his troops. He accordingly invited a number of the officers, whom he considered as his best friends, to his quarters; and laid open to them his disgust at the cruelty and tyranny of his father, his resolution to espouse the cause of Shujaa, and his intention of immediately going over to Tondah, whither he hoped he should soon be followed by all his friends, and a considerable part of the army, whom he considered as devoted to his interest.

For some time the assembly remained mute with astonishment; but, instead of opposing the measure, and pointing out to the Prince the folly of his conduct, they, with that hypocrisy and flattery which are so disgraceful to Indian manners, said, "Whatever your Royal Highness does, must be right: and there can be no doubt, if you go over to Sultan Shujaa this evening, one half of the army will join your standard by sun-rise." On these vague assurances the Prince quitted Rajemahel that evening; he embarked in a pleasure-boat, attended by a few of his confidential servants, as if going

Prince Mohammed deserts to Shujaa.

to recreate himself on the Ganges; and in a very short time was landed at a small distance from Tondah*, where he was met by Balund Akhter, the son, and several officers, of Shujaa. SECT. VI. A. D. 1660.

In the mean time, the Prince's quondam friends returned to their tents; and each man, solicitous of gaining favour with the Imperial General, sent off an express, to inform Meer Jumla of the folly of Mohammed, and the necessity of his immediate return to the army.

When Jumla received this intelligence, he was struck with astonishment at the madness of the Prince; but supposed it impossible that, without having secured the allegiance of a large portion of the army, he could have been guilty of such an act of folly: he was therefore doubtful whether he might venture to return to Rajemahel, fearing that the troops only waited to secure his person, before they went over to Mohammed. He at length resolved to do his duty, as a faithful officer, and hastened back to Rajemahel. Here he found every thing in the greatest confusion; some of the troops disposed to plunder the quarters of those chiefs who retained their loyalty, and others desirous of seizing the property of the Prince; and the whole in a mutinous state, and wavering in their intentions.

The appearance of the General, for a time, silenced the storm: he mounted his elephant, and rode into the midst of the army: he then harangued them, and pointed out the folly of Mohammed, whom he stigmatized as a weak young man, governed only by his passion; that the cause he had espoused was desperate; and should any of the troops be rash enough to follow him, they might be assured they were devoting themselves to destruction. He concluded by saying, he should

* See Note, page 149.

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march against the enemy as soon as the rainy season was over; and trusted, that before the end of that campaign he should be completely master of all Bengal. This speech had the desired effect; the majority were convinced by his reasoning; and the few who were inclined to support Mohammed were afraid to avow their sentiments, on account of the paucity of their numbers: every man returned quietly to his home; and the General, in order to put a stop to further cabal, and to give employment to their minds, sent out parties to seize all the boats they could collect, and to make every preparation for the construction of a bridge over the river, as soon as the season would permit.

Whilst such was the state of affairs at Rajemahel, the city of Tondah was a scene of festivity and rejoicing: the arrival of Mohammed communicated hope and delight to every heart: Shujaa received him with raptures, and the females hastened the preparations for the wedding. No thoughts of danger, or anticipation of future events, were allowed to damp the joys of the present moment. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and rejoicings; but, alas! the festivities were scarcely concluded, when they were awoke from their dream of happiness, by intelligence of the approach of the Imperial forces.

Shujaa, disdaining or fearing to trust to the fortifications of Tondah, encamped his army on the plain, some miles distant from the city, and resolved once more to try his fortune in a pitched battle. He had great confidence in his own troops; and was led to believe, from the assertions of Mohammed, that part of the Imperial army would join him the first opportunity; on which account he assigned to that prince a conspi-

cuous post in the centre of the first line, whence his standard could be easily distinguished by his friends, as they advanced.

The Imperial General, having completed his bridge of boats, or discovered a ford, crossed the river near Sooty; and, convinced of the superiority of his hardy veterans of the north over the newly-raised levies of Shujaa, he was delighted to find the enemy in the field. He advanced with impatience: and when he beheld, from a distance, the standard of Mohammed, he selected one of his most trust-worthy officers to attack that post, with directions, if possible, to secure the Prince. The battle commenced by a distant cannonade, in which, probably, the army of Shujaa had the advantage: Meer Jumla, therefore, directed his cavalry to advance; and, when sufficiently near, ordered his select corps to make a charge upon Mohammed: his orders were rapidly obeyed; and the misguided Prince, supposing it was a body of his friends coming to join him, directed his artillery to cease firing. The mode of their attack convinced him of his error, but it was too late: the first line was thrown into confusion; they fled, and communicated their panic to the second line, when the route became general. The eldest son of Shujaa was severely wounded; and an immense number of the Bengal troops were slaughtered by the Moghul cavalry.

Shujaa's army defeated.

Shujaa, and his unfortunate son-in-law, effected their escape to the city; but fearing to trust to its strength, embarked that night, with their families and treasures, on board swift-rowing boats, and made the best of their way to Dacca, whilst the troops dispersed themselves in all quarters.

Jumla was surprised at his own success; and the following morning, ignorant of the flight of the Princes, advanced against

SECT. VI. A. D. 1660. Tondah. Upon his arrival, the gates were thrown open, and he took quiet possession of the Sultan's palace.

He was now convinced that the hopes and resources of Shujaa were annihilated, and that he had nothing to apprehend from him: he therefore did not immediately pursue him, but spent some time in settling the country, of which he had, at that time, the commission of Governor from the Emperor.

When the first intelligence of Mohammed's desertion reached Aurungzebe, he was overwhelmed with rage and astonishment, and concluded that the whole army would follow the example of the Prince: he feared, not only that Bengal was lost, but that Shujaa would again be enabled to contend with him for the empire.

But as, notwithstanding his numerous faults, that monarch possessed the quality of bravery in a superior degree, he gave instant orders for his army to take the field; and had actually marched several days on the route to Bengal, when he received the agreeable news of the success of his arms at Tondah. This event satisfied him that he had little to fear from his brother: he therefore returned to Dehly; where, reflecting on the strange conduct of his son, to whom he partly owed the crown*, he devised the following stratagem to break that connection the youth had so hastily formed. He wrote a letter as if addressed secretly to Mohammed; and sent it by a special messenger, with directions to throw himself in the way of Shujaa's spies, so that he should be discovered, and the letter taken from him. The contents were as follow:

* See *History of Hindoostan*, vol. III. p. 251

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"To our beloved son Mohammed, whose happiness and safety are joined with our life. It was with regret and sorrow that we parted with our son, when his valour became necessary to carry on the war against Shujaa. We hoped, from the love we bear to our first-born, to be gratified soon with his return; and that he would have brought the enemy captive to our presence in the space of a month, to relieve our mind from anxiety and fear. But seven months passed away, without the completion of the wishes of Aurungzebe. Instead of adhering to your duty, Mohammed, you betrayed your father, and threw a blot on your own fame. The smiles of a woman have overcome filial piety. Honour is forgotten in the brightness of her beauty; and he who was destined to rule the empire of the Moghuls, has himself become a slave. But, as Mohammed seems to repent of his folly, we forget his crimes. He has invoked the name of God to vouch for his sincerity; and our parental affection returns: he has already our forgiveness; but the execution of what he proposes is the only means to regain our favour."

The letter made an impression on the mind of Shujaa, which all the protestations of Mohammed could not remove: he became silent and discontented. He had an affection for the Prince; and he was more enraged at being disappointed in the judgment which he had formed, than at the supposed treachery. Having continued three days in this agitation of mind, he at last sent for the Prince: he told him, in the presence of his council, that, after all the struggles of affection with suspicion, the latter had prevailed; that he could no longer behold Mohammed with an eye of friendship, should he even swear to his innocence in the holy temple of Mecca; that the bond

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of union and confidence, which had lately subsisted between them, was broken; and that, instead of a son and a friend, he beheld him in the light of an enemy. 'It is therefore necessary, for the peace of both,' continued Shujaa, 'that Mohammed should depart. Let him take away his wife, with all the wealth and jewels which belong to her rank. The treasures of Shujaa are open; he may take whatever he pleases. Go.—Aurungzebe should thank me for sending away his son, before he has committed a crime.'

Shujaa dismisses his Son-in-law.

Mohammed, on this solemn occasion, could not refrain from tears. He felt the injustice of the reproach; he admired the magnanimity of Shujaa; he pitied his misfortunes; but his own condition was equally deplorable. He knew the stern rigour of his father, who never trusted any man twice: he knew that his difficulty of forgiving was equal to his caution. The prospect was gloomy on either side: distrust and misery were with Shujaa, and a prison was the least punishment to be expected from Aurungzebe. He took leave, the next day, of his father-in-law: that prince presented his daughter with jewels, plate, and money, to a great amount; and the unfortunate pair pursued their journey to the Imperial camp.

Mohammed, accompanied by his spouse, the daughter of Shujaa, moved slowly towards the camp of Jumla. His melancholy increased as he advanced: but whither could he fly? No part of the vast empire of India was impervious to the arms of Aurungzebe; and he was not possessed of the means of escaping beyond the limits of his father's power: he was even ashamed to shew himself among troops whom he had deserted. Regret succeeded to folly; and he scarce could reflect with patience on the past, though the fair cause of his mis-

fortunes still kept her dominion over his mind. Having approached within a few miles of the Imperialists, he sent to announce his arrival to the Vizier. That minister hastened to receive him with all the honours due to his rank: a squadron with drawn swords formed around his tent; but they were his keepers rather than guards. Jumla, the very next day, received a packet from Court, which contained orders to send Mohammed, should he fall into his hands, under a strong escort to Dehly. The officer who commanded the party was ordered to obey the commands of the Prince; but he, at the same time, received instructions to watch his motions, and to prevent his escape.

Mohammed, though brave and enterprising like his father, was destitute of his policy and art. Precipitate, full of fire, and inconsiderate, he was more fitted for acting as a partisan than as a general, and was therefore less adapted for war than for battle. Haughty in his temper, yet easy in his address, and an enemy to cruelty. An absolute stranger to fear, he was daring and active on occasions of danger; but he knew his own merit; and his self-conceit induced him to ascribe to his own decisive valour the whole success of his father. He had been often known to say, that he placed Aurungzebe on the throne, when he might have possessed it himself. Naturally open and generous, he despised the duplicity of his father, and disdained power that must be preserved by art. His free conversations upon these subjects estranged from him the affections of his father, who seems to have confessed his merit by his own fears. Had Mohammed accepted of the offer of Shah Jehan*, when he seized that prince, he had

* See *Dow's History of Hindoostan*, vol. III. p. 251.

SECT. VI. courage and activity sufficient to have kept possession of the throne of the Moghuls: but he neglected the golden opportunity; and shewed his love of sway, when he was not possessed of any rational means to acquire the empire. His misfortunes, however, were greater than his folly: he passed seven years in a melancholy prison at Gualiar, till death put a period to his misery *.

Such is the account given of this transaction in the History of Hindoostan, which varies considerably from the authorities I have had an opportunity of consulting. It is stated, both in the *Muntekhub al Lebab*, and the *Muasir al Omrah*, that Mohammed, ashamed of his own conduct, or dissatisfied with his uncle, returned, of his own accord, to the Imperial army, previous to the battle of Tondah, after an absence of
A. D. 1660. nearly nine months. This event occurred in the year 1070.

* As the above statement is erroneous, and as it may be interesting, to many of the readers of this work, to know the fate of this gallant young man, some extracts from the *Muasir Alumgiery* (*History of Aurungzebe*), respecting him, are subjoined.

"Upon his arrival at Dehly, he was confined in the Castle of Selimghur: he was thence sent to Gualiar, where he remained till A. D. 1672; and was then brought back to Selimghur, and an allowance of 1000 rupees per month assigned him for his private expenses.

"In the following year, the Prince was allowed to take the air upon an elephant, and to visit the tombs and shrines in the vicinity of Dehly.

"In the year 1674, the Emperor marched towards Hussein Abdal, and was accompanied by the Prince Mohammed, still under confinement.

"In the following year, Sultan Mohammed was promoted to the rank of commander of 20,000, and presented with a lac of rupees.

"In the year 1676, the Prince Mohammed was married to the daughter of the Raja of Kishtavur. The following year, jewels, to the amount of seven lacs of rupees, were presented to the Prince. The same year a son was born to the Prince, and named Mussud Bukht.

"In the year 1678, the Prince Mohammed died, and was buried close to the tomb of the celebrated saint Cuttub Addeen, near Dehly."

It is therefore probable, that, if he had survived his father, he might have succeeded to, or, at all events, would have been one of the competitors for the throne.

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Meer Jumla, having settled the affairs of the western Bengal, marched with his forces towards Dacca; and the unfortunate Shujaa, whose treasures were now nearly exhausted, and his army reduced to fifteen hundred horse, finding opposition vain, resolved, in order to spare the further effusion of blood, to abandon his country,—by embarking on board a ship at the port of Chittagong†, and proceeding from thence to the sacred shrines of Arabia, where he might spend the remainder of his life in acts of devotion, either at the temple of Mecca, or in the vicinity of the tomb of his Prophet. If this measure failed him, he still had the alternative of proceeding to Arracan, and of soliciting the protection of the prince of that country. A. D. 1660.

Having thus reconciled himself to his adverse fate, he placed his family and valuables upon elephants; and, attended by a small body of cavalry, and a few of his friends, who generously refused to leave him in his distress, he crossed the river Burhampooter; and, having entered the wild mountains of Tipperah, after a long and wearisome journey, he reached Chittagong. At this place he had the mortification to learn, that there was not a ship in the port; and that, as the monsoon was raging with violence, no vessel could have attempted the voyage to Arabia at that season of the year. He had now no option left, but of proceeding to Arracan, or falling into the hands of his pursuers, of whose approach he received too well-grounded intelligence. He therefore discharged all his troops; and, accompanied only by his family, and forty A. D. 1661.

† Chittagong, at that period, had not been taken possession of by the Moghuls, but was dependent on Arracan, and was frequented by Portuguese, Arabian, and Malabar ships. It was called, by the former, *Porto Grande*.

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A. D. 1661. Shujaa seeks refuge at Arracan.

domestics or friends, he continued his journey along the sea-shore; and at length crossed the river Naaf, which separates Arracan from Bengal. As he had taken the precaution of sending forward an envoy, to explain to the Raja his situation, and to solicit his hospitality and protection, he was met on the frontier by an officer from that prince, with assurances of his protection and friendship.

These were the first consolatory words Shujaa had heard for a long time. He and his family were delighted to think their wanderings were now at an end; and, as they had still a considerable quantity of gold and jewels with them, they hoped to pass their lives in comfort in that retired part of the world; or that some revolution in the politics of Hindoostan might enable them to return thither, as their ancestor Homayon had done from Persia.

The Royal fugitives were met, at some distance from the city of Arracan, by a cavalcade, and escorted to a house prepared for their reception. There the assurances of the Raja were again repeated; and, as a proof of his hospitality, a large supply of provisions, fruit, &c. was presented, as a welcome offering.

For some time the conduct of the Raja was unexceptionable; but, whether alarmed by the threats, or won by the bribes, of the Governor of Bengal, his behaviour suddenly changed: he became cold and reserved; and his servants no longer attended to the rights of hospitality. At length he sent Shujaa a verbal message, that he must either give him his daughter in marriage, or immediately quit his kingdom. The first of these demands was an insult the unfortunate Prince did not expect. He replied, in haughty terms, that the race of Timour would

never submit to dishonour themselves by so inferior a connection; that as soon as the monsoon changed, and a ship could be procured, he would quit the country, and recompense him liberally for the trouble he had given him; but that the Raja must be well convinced it was impossible for him to depart at that season of the year. The Raja was highly offended at the haughtiness of this answer; and repeated his orders for Shujaa immediately to quit his territory. The unfortunate Prince was then convinced that the mind of the Raja was actuated by the combined passions of lust and avarice, and that certain death awaited him and his sons: but, as there was yet a possibility of saving the lives of his domestics and friends, he summoned them to his presence; and having laid open to them his situation, conjured them to leave him to his fate, and to throw themselves on the mercy of Aurungzebe, who, he doubted not, would forgive their attachment to him, when assured that he no longer existed. His speech was heard with melancholy attention and silence; but, when concluded, the whole assembly declared their only ambition was to shed their blood in his defence. SECT. VI. A. D. 1661.

In the mean time, the Raja, having assembled his council, alarmed them by the circumstantial detail of a plot, which he pretended Shujaa had laid, to assassinate him, and to take possession of the throne of Arracan. Notwithstanding the story was in the highest degree improbable, some of the council affected to believe it; and gave it as their opinion, that the foreigners should be immediately sent out of the country: but, as the followers of Boodh are prohibited from shedding blood, except in battle, the council would not authorize the Raja to touch the life of his prisoner; and although the princes of Arracan were

SECT. VI. A. D. 1661. despotic in their power, they wished to have all their acts sanctioned by the council, which consisted of a certain number of their principal officers and ministers*.

The Raja was therefore obliged to limit his orders to his troops, to remove the Moghuls from their present residence, and compel them to take the route of Chittagong: but if, in so doing, the life of one of his subjects should be lost, the officer, commanding, was at liberty to satiate his revenge. Such a subterfuge was unworthy even of an Eastern despot, who in his own mind had fully determined the fate of his devoted captives.

The spot on which was situated the temporary house fitted up for Shujaa, was a narrow bank, with the river in the front, and stupendous cliffs behind: the only approach was, therefore, by one or other flank: these Shujaa had taken care to barricade in the best manner he could; and placed his son, with twenty of his friends, at one end of the pass, while he, with the remainder of his adherents, defended the other.

The favourite arms of the Arracanners were a short sword and buckler: with these they advanced, with horrible shouts, towards the residence of Shujaa, but without discharging any missile weapons; whilst the Moghuls, ignorant of their prejudices and instructions, received them with a volley of arrows, which laid many of the assailants level with the ground. The object of the Raja was accomplished: his people now sought revenge; and, terrible as assailants, they clambered to the top of the precipice, and hurled down huge stones on the

* For a description of Arracan, and an account of the manners of the inhabitants of the Eastern Peninsula, see *Symes's Embassy to Ava.*

heads of Shujaa and his friends, whose attention was occupied in defending the flanks of their position. The contest was no longer equal: the Arracanners, supported every moment by fresh troops, were incessant in their attacks; whilst the Moghuls, wearied by the slaughter of their enemies, were at length overpowered, and the greater number of them hewn to pieces. SECT. VI. A. D. 1661.

Shujaa was one of the last who fell; he was stunned by a large stone thrown from the precipice. He was instantly seized, disarmed, and bound; and was afterwards placed in a small canoe, with two of his attendants, who insisted upon accompanying him. They were carried into the middle of the stream; when the boatmen, having pulled out some plugs from the bottom of the vessel, jumped overboard, and were soon picked up by another boat. The Prince, being fast bound, sunk without a struggle; but his two friends made a vain effort to save themselves, by swimming: the breadth of the river, or the opposition of their enemies, prevented their reaching the shore; and they obtained that death which, according to the regulations of Arracan, was the exclusive privilege of the Royal family†. Shujaa taken prisoner, and drowned.

The wife and daughters of Shujaa, in a fit of despair, threw themselves into the river: they were not, however, permitted to escape so easily; they were seized, and carried, with all the other females, to the Raja's palace.

When the Raja had the insolence to wait upon Piaree Banu (the Beloved Princess), who was celebrated in Bengal for her wit and beauty, she drew a dagger, and attempted to

† See *Syme's Embassy to Ava*.

SECT. VI. stab the wretch; but failing in her design, she turned it against herself, and fell by her own hand. Of the three daughters, two are said to have put an end to their misfortunes by poison: the third was forcibly married to the Raja, but did not long survive her disgrace.

Of the sons of Shujaa, the eldest, sixteen years of age, was wounded severely in the battle; the other was still an infant: they were kept as prisoners for a short time, and then committed to a watery grave. Such was the melancholy end of Shujaa and his family; a prince deserving a milder fate: but his virtues were better adapted for private than for public life. He might have filled with credit the throne of a well-regulated and established kingdom; but he had not energy or ability to contend with such a rival as Aurungzebe; nor prudence to remain content with a province, while he thought himself entitled to the empire. No prince was ever more beloved than Shujaa: misfortune, and even death itself, could not deprive him of his friends: and though his fate was not known in Hindoostan for some years after his death, it filled every eye with tears: and when the melancholy intelligence was communicated to Shah Jehan, he exclaimed, "Could not the cursed infidel have left one son of Shujaa alive, to avenge the wrongs of his grand-
A. D. 1661. father?" These events occurred in the year 1071.

## MOHAMMED SAIYD MEER JOOMLA, NUWAB, MUAZIM KHAN, KHAN KHANAN, SEPAH SELAR.

*Origin of Meer Joomla—He arrives at Golcondah—Obtains the command of an army—Subdues Carnatic Bala Ghaut, and amasses great wealth—Suspected of treacherous intentions—Makes overtures to the Moghul prince Aurungzebe—The Emperor Shah Jehan demands his release from Sultan Abdallah—The Sultan refuses compliance—An army*

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*of Moghuls, under the command of Mohammed, the son of Aurungzebe, enters Telingana, and compels the Sultan to comply with their demands —Meer Joomla proceeds to Dehly, and is most graciously received— Obtains the title of Muazim Khan—Appointed Vizier—In the civil war, takes part with Aurungzebe—Joins that prince at Kudjwa— Appointed to carry on the war against Shujaa, with the title of Khan Khanan—Proceeds to Dacca, and re-establishes it as the capital of Bengal—Invades Couch Beyhar, and changes the name of its capital to Alumgeernagur—Political conduct of Meer Joomla—The son of the Raja becomes a convert to the Mohammedan faith—Meer Joomla proceeds towards Assam—Difficulties of the march described—Defeats the fleet of the enemy, and takes the fort of Semyle—Takes possession of Ghergong, the capital of Assam, without opposition—Cantons his army for the rainy season—Writes to the Emperor that he had opened a road to China, and hoped to arrive there in another campaign— The rains set in with great violence, and overflow the whole country— The Raja surrounds the Moghuls with his army, and cuts off all their supplies—A pestilence breaks out among the troops—Meer Joomla in the greatest distress—The rains abate; and the Moghuls, again enabled to act, compel the Raja to return to the mountains, whence he sends an envoy to solicit peace; to which Joomla consents—The officers who had been left in charge of Couch Beyhar having given disgust to the natives, the latter rebel, and expel the Moghuls, who take post at Ghowhatty— Meer Joomla commences his retreat—Arrives at Ghowhatty—Detaches an army to reconquer Couch Beyhar—Proceeds towards Dacca— Dies—His character.*

As this officer has made, and will still make, a conspicuous figure in this history, it is thought requisite to give some account of his origin, and rise in life.

Mohammed, generally called Meer Joomla, was born in the vicinity of Ispahan, a city for many years the capital of Persia. When arrived at the age of manhood, he imitated the example of a number of his successful countrymen, and went to seek his fortune in India. His propitious stars led him to Golcondah;

SECT. VI. A. D. 1650.

where, about the year A. H. 1060, he obtained an employment, in the service of the Sultan Abdallah Koottub Shah, sovereign of Telingana; and, by degrees, rose to the command of the army. Whilst in this situation, he subdued the country called Carnatic Bala Ghaut, which yielded a revenue of forty lacs (4,000,000) of rupees per annum, and comprehended the strong fortresses of Gunjy Kotta and Sudhoot. As this district is very rich, and contains several diamond mines, Meer Joomla was supposed to have collected great wealth for himself: in proof of this fact, he raised a select corps of 5000 cavalry, which he maintained at his own expense. This circumstance shortly rouzed the envy and jealousy of all the courtiers, and caused suspicion in the mind of the Sultan.

During the period that Meer Joomla was employed in the Carnatic, he left his son, Meer Mohammed Ameen, to be his agent at Court; but the youth, puffed up with pride at the success of his father, conducted himself in a very dissolute and disrespectful manner; and had the audacity to come to Court one day in a state of intoxication, and to fall asleep on the Prince's musnud*: such behaviour could not pass unnoticed; he was severely reprimanded, and forbidden to appear in the presence of the Sultan.

When this intelligence reached Meer Joomla, he was convinced that his enemies were plotting his ruin, and that it would be unsafe for him to return to Golcondah. He therefore made overtures to the Prince Aurungzebe, who then commanded the Imperial army in the Dekkan, which were favourably received; and the Prince having recommended him to the Emperor Shah

* An inferior kind of throne.

Jehan, an envoy was (A. H. 1066) sent from Dehly, to the Court of Koottub Shah, to demand the discharge of both father and son: for the former of whom the envoy carried a commission of Commander of 5000 horse, and for the son the rank of Colonel of 2000, in the Imperial service. SECT. VI. A. D. 1655.

Before the arrival of the envoy, Koottub Shah, having learnt the object of his mission, confined Mohammed Ameen, and seized all the property of the father that he could discover. This conduct drew on the Sultan the vengeance of Aurungzebe: an army, under the command of his son Mohammed, entered Telingana; and, having laid waste the country, and plundered the city of Hyderabad, compelled the Sultan to deliver up Meer Joomla and his son, with all their wealth; and to purchase his own pardon by a present of one million sterling, and by giving his daughter in marriage to Mohammed †.

On the 12th of the month Jummad al Akhir, A. H. 1067, Meer Joomla, with his son, arrived in the camp of the Prince Mohammed, and were most graciously received: they thence proceeded to join Aurungzebe, by whom they were treated with great respect, and an intimacy was cemented between the parties. On the 25th of Ramzan they reached Dehly, and had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor. On this occasion Meer Joomla presented his Majesty with a large diamond, worth two lacs, and sixteen thousand rupees; also sixty elephants, and other valuable commodities; amounting, in all, to the value of fifteen lacs of rupees. A. D. 1657.

In return, Joomla was honoured with the title of Muazim Khan, the rank of Commander of 6000 horse, with the insignia of standards and kettle-drums; the office of Dewan, and a present

† See *History of Hindoostan*, and *Scott's History of the Dekkan.*

SECT. VI. A. D. 1657.

of five lacs of rupees in specie. The knowledge and abilities of Joomla recommended him, in a high degree, to the Emperor; and the place of Vizier having soon after become vacant, by the death of Saadulla Khan, notwithstanding all the opposition of the Prince Dara, who was averse to Joomla, from his connection with Aurungzebe, that officer was appointed to the highest office in the empire.

In the civil wars between the brothers, for the throne, Joomla took part with his patron, Aurungzebe; joined his camp, near Kudjwa, the day preceding the battle with Shujaa; and, by his abilities and courage, contributed much to the success of that day. The high opinion entertained of him by Aurungzebe is evinced by his having been selected to carry on the war against Shujaa; and his conduct on that occasion gained for him the applause and esteem of his sovereign. He was promoted to the rank of Generalissimo of the armies, and the high title of Khan Khanan (Chief of the Nobles).

Meer Joomla makes Dacca the capital of Bengal.

It has been before mentioned, that Meer Joomla, having settled the affairs of the western part of Bengal, pursued the unfortunate Shujaa to Dacca. In that city he fixed his residence, and again rendered it the capital of the province.

The English seize on one of his vessels, A. D. 1660.

During the period that the army of Meer Joomla had occupied Rajemahel, he had stopt the boats, laden with saltpetre, belonging to the English, and much injured their trade at Patna: in consequence of which, the English had the audacity, in the year 1071, to seize one of his vessels, for which he threatened to expel them the country: but early in the following year, on their making an apology, and restoring the vessel, he forgave them, and, during the remainder of his government, treated them with lenity. He, however, insisted upon their continuing

to pay the *peishkush*, or annual offering of 3000 rupees, which had been established, by the Foujdar of Hoogly, during the late civil war. SECT. VI. A. D. 1659.

Whilst the empire of Hindoostan was convulsed by the contentions of Aurungzebe and his brothers for the throne, several of the bordering Zemindars and tributary Rajas withdrew their necks from the collar of obedience; and not only neglected to send any part of their revenues to the Imperial treasury, but even invaded the provinces. Amongst the most prominent of these was Beemnarain, the Raja of Couch Beyhar, whose country, although frequently plundered by the Mohammedans, and compelled to pay tribute, was never absolutely subdued. This chief, taking advantage of the absence of the Moghul army, seized upon Kamroop, and several other of the Imperial districts which adjoined his territories.

To the north-east of Bengal is situated the extensive, and the once powerful, kingdom of Assam. This country is, generally speaking, a valley, 700 miles in length by 80 in breadth, through the middle of which runs the great river Burhampooter, which, after entering Bengal, joins the Ganges: these rivers pour their united streams into the ocean near Deccan Shabazpore*.

The prince of this country, named Jydej Sing, had, during the civil wars, sent an army down the Burhampooter; which had plundered and laid waste the country as far as Dacca, and carried away with them a number of the inhabitants as slaves.

To avenge these insults, and to re-establish the fame of the

* For a further description of this country, see Mr. Vansittart's Translation of part of the *History of Aurungzebe*, published in the *Asiatic Researches* for 1800; also Doctor Wade's account of Assam, in the above work for 1805.

SECT. VI. Moghul government, was an object of great solicitude to Meer Joomla; who, as soon as he was satisfied with regard to the
A. D. 1661. Prince Shujaa, in the year 1071, collected, in the neighbourhood of Dacca, a numerous army, well equipped with artillery and warlike stores, and accompanied by a strong fleet of war-boats.

Invades Couch Beyhar, A. D. 1661. Meer Joomla, having previously obtained the sanction of the Emperor, early in the year 1072, marched, at the head of his forces, from Dacca. As he had embarked his heavy artillery and stores on board the fleet, he directed his march along the bank of the Burhampooter; but as there was no regular road by this route, he was frequently obliged to cut his way through woods, and to form causeways over the swamps. Although this measure delayed his progress, it, in the end, facilitated his conquest; for the Raja of Couch Beyhar, not expecting the invasion from that quarter, had directed all his attention to fortify and defend the two other roads which led to his capital. Such were the difficulties that occurred in this route, that the General was himself obliged to set an example to his troops, by taking the axe in his own hands, and cutting down a tree. On seeing this action, the proud Moghuls, who, previous to that time, had considered fighting as their only duty, alighted from their horses, and exerted themselves in clearing the way. By their endeavours, and the co-operation of a number of elephants, a road was at length formed; which enabled Meer Joomla to approach, with little opposition, the city of Beyhar; and the Raja, sensible of his inability to oppose so formidable an enemy, took to flight, and concealed himself in the woods and hills.

December, A. D. 1661. On the 27th of Rubby al Avul (third month), Meer Joomla

took possession of the capital of Couch Beyhar; and, in compliment to the reigning Emperor, changed its name to Alumgeernagur. SECT. VI. A. D. 1661.

As it was the intention of Meer Joomla to retain possession of that district, he appointed Syed Mohammed Saduc to be chief judge; with directions to destroy all the idolatrous temples, and to erect mosques in their stead. He, however, issued orders to his troops not to plunder, or injure, any of the inhabitants; but to seize upon all the property of the Raja, wherever it could be found. To evince his zeal for religion, the General himself, with a battle-axe, broke the celebrated image of Narain (the principal object of worship of the Hindoos of that province), and afterwards, ascending to the roof of the temple, proclaimed the Mohammedan call to prayers. With this exception on the article of religion, Meer Joomla would not permit his troops to be guilty of any injustice to his new subjects; and instituted a court for the express punishment of plunderers, or other offenders.

By these means, the inhabitants of Couch Beyhar became reconciled to their invaders; and many of them, who had fled from the city, returned to their habitations. At length, Bishen Narain, the son of the Raja, who was on bad terms with his father, came in: at the instance of Meer Joomla, he was converted to the Mohammedan faith; and on the promise of being raised immediately to the Raje, undertook to seize his father.

To effect this impious undertaking, a considerable force, under the command of Isfundiar Beg, was sent with Bishen Narain, who entered the woods, and, having pursued the Raja for some time, compelled him to take refuge in a hill fort of Bootan; the only entrance to which was by a bridge composed of iron chains, and which was easily taken to pieces on the approach of an enemy. Although disappointed in seizing the

SECT. VI. Raja, they captured his principal minister, with all his family
A. D. 1661. and wealth: they also found, in the wood, 250 guns, great and small, and much other property; all of which was forwarded to Dacca.

Meer Joomla, having settled the revenues of Couch Beyhar at ten lacs of Narain rupees, and made his arrangements, left fourteen hundred horse, and two thousand musqueteers, under the command of Isfundiar Beg, to support the new government; and proceeded to the conquest of Assam.

As Meer Joomla was resolved not to quit sight of his fleet, on which were embarked his stores and depôt of provisions, he regained the banks of the Burhampooter; and, having
A. D. 1662. crossed that river, near Rangamutty, at the expense of great labour and much delay he formed a road which enabled him to proceed by short stages. During this march, as the Imperial army was obliged to drag the boats against a strong current, and the troops were necessitated to cross rivers and to clamber over precipices, it frequently happened that their day's journey did not exceed one or two miles; during which time, although not opposed by the enemy in front, they were often annoyed on their flanks, by small parties of the Assamese firing on them, from behind trees, or wherever the nature of the ground permitted them to approach unseen: but as the General shared in all the fatigues and danger, frequently walking the whole way, the troops continued to advance without murmuring, although their rest was often broken, after a most fatiguing day's journey, by the night attacks of the enemy.

After a most wearisome march, the Moghul army came in sight of the fort of Semyle*, built upon a hill, which com-

* Called, by other authors, *Axo*.

manded the river, and was garrisoned by 20,000 men, supported by a fleet of war-boats, anchored across the stream. Meer Joomla immediately gave orders for his boats to attack those of the enemy, while he invested the fortress by land. His cannon, which were probably served by Europeans, quickly dispersed the Assamese fleet; and the garrison, dispirited by their retreat, abandoned the post during the night. SECT. VI.

The Moghul General, having taken possession of the fortress, which he named Atta Allah (the Gift of God), placed a garrison therein: he then proceeded on his route; and, after capturing a number of other places, on the sixth of Shaban (8th month) took possession of Ghergong, the capital of the kingdom. A. D. 1662.

As the Moghul army required some rest after their harassing journey, and the rainy season was approaching, Meer Joomla cantoned his troops in the vicinity of the river extending from Ghergong to Mutteapore, a distance of seven miles; and, as the Raja had fled at his appearance, and taken shelter in the mountains, he was under no apprehension of any molestation from the inhabitants of the country, to the principal of whom he had granted protection, and taken their promise of allegiance. Misled by this confidence, Meer Joomla despatched couriers to the Emperor, informing him, that he had opened a road to China, and hoped, next campaign, to display the Moghul standards in that rich country.

This intelligence afforded much pleasure to Aurungzebe, who flattered himself that his victorious banners would meet, in the distant region of China, those of his Tartar relations, the descendants of Jengiez Khan. He, in consequence, gave orders for a numerous levy of troops to be assembled at Dehly, for the purpose of supporting Meer Joomla, and maintaining

SECT. VI. his conquests. The Emperor also conferred on Mohammed Ameen, the son of Joomla, an honorary dress, as a testimony of respect for his father: he also wrote to the General a letter, with his own hand, congratulating him on his success, and encouraging him to proceed: but, alas! these hopes were of a short-lived duration.

A. D. 1662. The rainy season of the year 1072 set in with uncommon violence; the rivers overflowed their banks, and laid the whole of the Valley of Assam under water; forage was nowhere procurable; and the Moghul cavalry, of whom the Assamese were so much afraid that hundreds of them often fled before ten horsemen, could no longer act.

The Raja returned, at the head of his troops, from the mountains; and, having surrounded the Moghuls on every side, cut off all supplies from the country. Provisions became scarce; and the dampness of the climate, or malignity of the air, occasioned a pestilential disorder, which swept off a number of the troops: distress in every form attacked the Moghuls; but, as it was impossible either to advance or retreat, there was no other remedy for them but patience.

During the period that the Moghul army was thus surrounded with misfortunes, the Assamese were incessant in their night attacks, and succeeded in cutting off several of the detached parties; they also, with poisoned arrows, severely wounded many of the principal officers, and killed a number of the men and horses.

At length, in the month Rubby al Avul (3d month) of
A. D. 1662-3. the year 1073, the rains began to subside, and the dry ground to appear. Meer Joomla lost not a moment in retaliating on his enemies; he sent out detachments to beat up their quarters;

and wherever an opportunity offered for the cavalry to act, they drove the Assamese before them, "like sheep before the wolf." The Raja again fled to the mountains, and sent an envoy to solicit peace. Meer Joomla either was, or pretended to be, averse to any other terms than absolute submission; but being attacked by a violent dysentery, and the troops mutinous to return to Bengal, he at length listened to the solicitations of Dilere Khan, and other officers, and agreed to withdraw his troops from Assam, on condition of the Raja paying a large sum of money, presenting a number of elephants, yielding up his daughter to be married to one of the Princes, and promising an annual tribute. SECT. VI.

These terms having been accepted by the Raja, an envoy arrived in the Moghul camp on the 6th of the second Jemmad (6th month), and presented to Meer Joomla 20,000 tolahs of gold*, 1,008,000 tolahs in silver, forty elephants, and two young ladies; one said to be the daughter of the Raja, and the other the daughter of a powerful chief whose territories adjoined Assam: he also brought four young men, of good family, to remain as hostages for the payment of the annual tribute. A. D. 1663.

While Meer Joomla thus successfully conducted the war in Assam, Isfundiar Beg and the other officers whom he had left in charge of Couch Beyhar, by their oppressions and tyrannical conduct, so disgusted the inhabitants of that province, that they rose in a body, and solicited their expelled Raja, Beemnarain, to return among them, and again to assume the reins of government.

As soon as the Raja found himself sufficiently powerful, he sent a polite message to Isfundiar Beg, and Mohammed Saleh,

* A Tolah weighs about 400 grains.

SECT. VI. the governor and commander of the troops, that if they would retire peaceably and quietly from his dominions, they might do so unmolested: but if they persisted in remaining, they should have reason to repent their obstinacy.

The Moghul chiefs at first disregarded this menace; but after several skirmishes, in which they lost a number of men and officers, they found it advisable to retire to Ghowhatty, there to await the return of the army from Assam.

In the middle of Jemmad Assany (6th month), Meer Joomla commenced his return to Bengal. At this period his army was so much reduced by famine and sickness, that nine men out of ten were with difficulty transported; and many of them daily perished on the march; while the General himself was nearly exhausted by his disorder.

In the end of Shaban (8th month) the army arrived at Ghowhatty, on the confines of Couch Beyhar; and, notwithstanding the weak state of Meer Joomla, he selected all the efficient part of the army, and sent them, under the command of Rasheed Khan and Asghur Khan, to reconquer that province. He then proceeded, with the remainder of his forces, towards Dacca; but on his arrival at Khizerpore, his constitution being exhausted by fatigue and disease, he resigned his soul to the Angel of death, on the 2d of Ramzan (9th month)
A. D. 1663-4. of the year 1073.

Meer Joomla was one of those characters who have risen more in consequence of their own abilities than by any peculiar instance of good fortune. He possessed an excellent understanding, great coolness of mind, and undaunted courage. He was calculated for the intrigues of the cabinet, as well as for the stratagems of the field. In private life he was amiable and

humane; in his public transactions, dignified and just. He disdained to use ungenerous means against his adversaries, and even expressed his joy on the escape of Sultan Shujaa from his arms. Till his death he retained the title of Vizier, though the duties of the office were performed by his deputy, Raja Ragonath. His death was even regretted by the Europeans, who had formerly complained of his exactions. SECT. VI.

When the Emperor was informed of the death of Meer Joomla, and the unsuccessful termination of the expedition to Assam, he was greatly distressed; and sent the prince Mohammed Muazim to condole with the family of the deceased chief, and to assure his son, Ameen Khan, of the Imperial favour and support: but the enemies of Aurungzebe were of opinion that he was much pleased with the event, as he was excessively jealous of the abilities, and much feared the ambition, of that great man.

## NUWAB SHAISTA KHAN AMEER AL OMRAH.

*The Nuwab Shaista Khan appointed Governor; but permitted to manage the business, for some time, by deputy—Arrives at Dacca—Prepares to retaliate on the Raja of Arracan—Detaches a fleet of war-boats, with* 3000 *men, under Hussen Beg, to recover the islands in the mouth of the Ganges—Sends the remainder of the army, under the command of his son, by land, to Chittagong—The fleet retakes Jugdea and Alumgeernagur—Invades Sundeep, and regains possession of that island—Hussen Beg writes to the Portuguese in the service of the Raja, offering them considerable advantages if they would desert to him—The Portuguese accede—The plot discovered—The Portuguese escape in their boats to Sundeep—The army arrives at the boundary of Chittagong—The Arracanners retreat to the city—An engagement takes place between the fleets, in which the Moghuls are worsted, but gain some advantage*

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*the following day—The united forces lay siege to Chittagong—The garrison endeavour to make their escape—Pursued, taken, and sold as slaves—Shaista Khan, at his own request, recalled to Court—His Character—The Danes and French establish factories in Bengal.*

AFTER the death of Meer Joomla, the government of Bengal was conferred on Shaista Khan, the Ameer al Omrah, son of the celebrated Vizier Asuf Jah, and nephew of the Empress Noor Jehan; but as that officer had not then recovered from the wounds he had received at Poona, in the Dekkan, from the assassins of the Mahratta chief Sevagee*, he was permitted to govern the province by his deputy, Daoud Khan, and did
A. D. 1662-4. not proceed thither until the year 1074.

The affairs of the province, at that period, required the presence of an able Governor; for the Raja of Arracan, finding that no notice was taken of his conduct to Sultan Shujaa, concluded that the Moghuls were afraid of his power; and when he heard of the death of Meer Joomla, he directed his troops to possess themselves of all the eastern coast, to the mouth of the Ganges. He also again took into his employment a number of the Portuguese adventurers, whose knowledge in maritime affairs enabled him to construct and navigate vessels of a sufficient size to carry cannon: with these, and his own swift-rowing war-boats, he extended his ravages to all the islands not in his possession, and seized a number of boats, richly laden, in different parts of the Ganges. Such was the extent of their depredations, that the inhabitants of Dacca trembled when they heard the name of the Mughs, whose general practice was to kill the men, and to carry off the women and children as slaves.

* See *History of Hindoostan*, vol. III. page 370.

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One of the first acts of Shaista Khan's authority was to assemble, in the year 1075, at Dacca, a numerous fleet of boats, and an army of 13,000 men†. Three thousand of these he immediately embarked on board the boats, under the command of an officer, named Hussen Beg, with orders to clear the river of the pirates, and to drive them from the islands of which they had taken possession. The remainder of the army he placed under the command of his own son, Buzurg Omeid Khan, whom he instructed to proceed by land, and co-operate with the fleet in punishing the Mughs. A. D. 1664-5.

The fleet sailed from Dacca; and entering the great river Megna, which is formed by the junction of the Burhampooter and Ganges, Hussen Beg took by storm the forts of Jugdea and Alumgeernagur, which were situated at the mouth of the river, and had been for some time in possession of the Raja. Hence he sailed to the island of Sundeep, of which the enemy had been for many years in possession, and where they had erected several strong stockades in various places. The Moghuls were fortunate in surprising, in that place, a part of the Arracan fleet, which they took with little trouble; but the capture of the stockades was not so easily effected; and several weeks were required to expel, or seize, the whole of the Mughs, who are celebrated for their dexterity, both in the construction and the defence of such fortifications. A. D. 1666.

Hussen Beg, having thus completed the object of his instructions, waited for the arrival of the army, which had proceeded by land: in the meantime, he wrote, with the sanction

† On this occasion he demanded the assistance of some European gunners, from the Dutch and English factories; and upon their pleading inability, he threatened to stop their traffic in saltpetre. *India Records*, vol. III. A. D. 1664.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1666. and in the name of the Governor, both to the Portuguese who were settled at Chittagong, and to those who were in the employment of the Raja; offering them, if they would enter his service, to give them more advantageous terms than they had from that chief, and a grant of lands for the settlement of their families in Bengal. He at the same time threatened, if they still adhered to the cause of the Raja, that he would, on the capture of Chittagong, destroy every person of their nation whom he found*. This letter had the desired effect on the Portuguese; they were terrified at the power of the Moghuls; and calling to mind the severe punishment inflicted on them at Hoogly, they agreed to his proposals, and promised to desert, with their vessels, the first opportunity.

The negociation was scarcely concluded, when one of the party communicated it to the Raja, who was much irritated, and resolved to take ample vengeance, by putting them all to the sword: the Portuguese were therefore under the necessity of abandoning their property, and of hurrying on board their boats during the night. In the morning they set sail, and arrived safe at Sundeep, where they were most graciously

A. D. 1666. A. H. 1075-6.

* The following horrible account of these people is given by Berneir, in his Travels.—"Rakan had been the refuge of all the runaway Portuguese from Goa, Cochin, Malacca, and other places which they had in the Indies; as well as of their slaves, and other Europeans. They consisted of such as had abandoned their monasteries; had been twice or thrice married; murderers, and the like. The King of Rakan kept them as a guard of his frontier against the Mogol, in the port called Chategon, which he had taken from Bengal; giving them lands and liberty to live as they pleased. Their usual trade was robbery and piracy: they not only scoured the sea-coasts, but entered the rivers, especially the Ganges; and often, penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country, surprised and carried away whole towns and villages of people, with great cruelty, and burning all which they could not carry away. They ransomed the old people: but the young ones they made rowers of, and such Christians as they were themselves; boasting that they made more converts in one year, than the missionaries, through the Indies, did in ten." See *Modern Universal History*, vol. VI.

received by the Imperial General, who, having selected the most efficient of them to assist in the expedition against Arracan, sent the remainder to the Governor, who assigned for their residence a place twelve miles below Dacca, still called Fringy Bazar, or European town, where many of their descendants yet reside.

The army under Omeid Khan, having advanced by short marches on account of the badness of the roads, at length reached the river Phenny, which formerly constituted the south-east boundary of Bengal: here they found an army of Arracanners prepared to oppose their crossing; but the appearance of the Moghul cavalry, an object they had never before seen, alarmed them to such a degree, that they fled with precipitation to Chittagong.

In the mean time, Hussen Beg, having obtained intelligence that the army was arrived, set sail from Sundeep, and endeavoured to form a junction with it; but, opposite a place called Commorea, he was attacked by the Arracan fleet, consisting of three hundred armed vessels, of different sizes; and although, owing principally to the assistance of the Portuguese, he was enabled to repulse the enemy, and take or sink several of their vessels, yet he was so much alarmed by this new species of warfare, to which the Moghuls had not been accustomed, that he ran the fleet close to the shore, and sought protection from the army. Omeid Khan immediately detached to his assistance all the artillery and musqueteers; and when the Arracanners, early next morning, renewed the attack in shallow water, the guns opened a heavy and unexpected fire on them, and compelled them to retreat.

The united forces then proceeded to the city of Chittagong,

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Chittagong taken, A. D. 1666.

to which they laid siege; and although it was well fortified, and defended by a number of cannon, the garrison, alarmed at the retreat of their fleet, endeavoured, during the night, to make their escape. They were pursued by the Moghul cavalry, and 2000 of them seized and sold as slaves. Twelve hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon, of different calibres, and a number of stores, were found in the place; but the captors were disappointed in the quantity of wealth they expected to have shared. Omeid Khan changed the name of the city to Islamabad* (The Residence of the Faithful); and annexed it to the province of Bengal; leaving a considerable force to defend it, from the incursions of the Mughs.

A. D. 1666. A. H. 1076.

Shaista Khan governed Bengal, with great prudence and vigour, till the end of the year 1087; when, at his own request, he was recalled to Court. On his arrival, he presented the Emperor with thirty lacs of rupees (nearly 350,000*l.*) in specie, some elephants, and a number of curiosities. He was most graciously received, and soon after appointed Governor of the province of Agra.

A. D. 1677.

It is exceedingly difficult to do justice to the character of this officer. By the Mohammedan historians he is described as the Pattern of Excellence; but by the English he is vilified as the oppressor of the human race. The following facts are, however, strong presumptive proofs in favour of the veracity of the former. During the government of Shaista Khan, the commerce of the English, notwithstanding the alleged oppressions of the Governor, continued to flourish: besides their factories

* See page 246.

at Ballasore and Hoogly, they had established agents at Patna, Cossimbazar, and Dacca; and their exportation of saltpetre alone, in some years, amounted to 1000 tons; and their importation of bullion, in a single year, to 110,000*l.*: further, although no English vessels were allowed to sail up the Ganges before his time, viz. A. D. 1664, yet it appears that, in the year 1669, the East-India Company had, by his permission, formed a regular establishment of pilots, for conducting their ships up and down the river. He also, in the year 1672, granted them an order for freedom of trade throughout the province, without the payment of any duties†.

On the other hand, the Company's agents complained, that he frequently stopt their trade, and seized upon their saltpetre; that, instead of the annual present of 3000 rupees, settled in 1658, he exacted from them the same duties that were paid by the Hindoos; and that his officers were guilty of a thousand exactions‡. That, in Hoogly, the officers of government compelled the Hindoo merchants to take their money at 25 per cent. interest; and frequently called on them to repay the principal at the end of nine months, charging the full year's interest. That, in consequence of various confiscations; the public officers had frequently a quantity of goods on their hands, which they obliged the Hindoo merchants to take at a high price, and dispose of as they could; and that he compelled the English and Dutch soldiers to attend him in the war against Arracan. There is still extant a public letter from the Governor of Madras, to Shaista Khan, dated May 7, 1677,

† See Appendix.

‡ See Messrs. *Blake's and Clavel's Reports*, dated October 1668, and December 1676.

SECT. VI. threatening, that if the English are not better treated, they will entirely withdraw from Bengal*.

It was during the government of Shaista Khan, that is to
A. D. 1676. say, about the year 1676, that the French and Danes established themselves in Bengal. The precise period of the introduction of the Dutch is not recorded; but the agents of these nations prudently obtained ground, on which to erect their factories, at some distance below Hoogly, where the present towns of Chinsura, Chandernagore, and Serampore, now stand. The English agent, on the contrary, built his factory in the middle of the town of Hoogly, which was the cause of frequent disputes with the inhabitants, and terminated by their being expelled the country.

## NUWAB FEDAI KHAN AAZIM KHAN.

On the resignation of Shaista Khan, the Emperor Aurungzebe was pleased to appoint his own *foster-brother*, Fedai Khan, to be Governor of Bengal, with the lofty title of Aazim Khan.
A. D. 1677. This officer arrived at Dacca in the year 1087, but died, in that city, early in the following year.

This person is described, by the English agents, of a covetous and tyrannical disposition: they further state, that he had quarrelled with Hajy Shuffy Khan, the Emperor's Dewan; that he gave much molestation to their commerce; and that his conduct made them regret the resignation of his predecessor: that, in consequence of such behaviour, an order had been received from Court for him to quit Dacca, and reside at

* *India Records*, 4th and 8th vols.

Kidderpore; but that his death, which occurred on the 25th of May, 1678, had saved him that mortification†. SECT. VI. A.D. 1678.

Upon the death of the Nuwab, the Emperor's Dewan, Hajy Shuffy, seized all his property, and took charge of the government; and being inimical to the English, he gave orders that they should pay three and a half per cent. duties upon their commerce, being the sum they paid at Surat‡.

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## SULTAN MOHAMMED AAZIM.

WHEN intelligence of the death of Fedai Khan reached the Court, the Prince Mohammed Aazim, third son of Aurungzebe, who then governed Behar, was ordered to take charge of Bengal. He arrived at Dacca on the 19th of Jummad al Akhir of the year 1088; and, towards the end of that year, detached an army to repel the Assamese, who had been, for some time, troublesome on the frontier. June 30, 1678.

Upon this occasion, the Prince sent for the agents of the English and Dutch factories at Dacca; and having received them in the most gracious manner, he requested them to assist him with some Europeans, who understood the management of artillery; but, upon their pleading their inability, he did not enforce the demand: however, as he was in want of money, he accepted the sum of 21,000 rupees from the English; for which he granted them his Nishan, or order, for a free trade, without the payment of any duties‖.

† See *India Records*, vol. IX. 1677-8.

‡ Ibid. vol. XIV. p. 250.

‖ See Appendix.

SECT. VI. Upon the approach of the Imperial forces, the Assamese
A. D. 1678. retired, and the Moghuls took possession of Ghowhatty, and the villages depending thereon. This transaction was magnified at Court into a new conquest; and an honorary dress, with a diamond necklace, valued at two lacs of rupees, was forwarded to the Prince, as a testimony of the Royal favour. This circumstance so flattered the vanity of the Prince, that he resolved on subjugating the kingdom of Arracan; and had commenced his preparations, when an event occurred which put a stop to all his projects.

A. D. 1678-9. In the year 1089, the Emperor Aurungzebe, having given great offence to all his Hindoo subjects, by the imposition of a capitation tax, by the destruction of their temples, and by his wanton attempt to despoil the orphan children of Raja Jeswont Sing of their inheritance of Joudpore, all the Rajepoot princes had recourse to arms: and so powerful were they in reputation and force, that Aurungzebe, who was then engaged in a war against the Mahratta chief Sevagee, found it requisite to order all his most confidential troops and distinguished officers to join him*.

In consequence of this event, Sultan Aazim quitted Dacca
Aug. 14, 1679. on the 7th of Ramzan 1090; and proceeded on his route with an expedition never before evinced by any of the Princes of Hindoostan, unless by the Emperor Akbar, in his celebrated march from Agra to Guzerat in nine days.

The Prince's mode of travelling is thus described by one of his attendants. At midnight, he, and his son Bedar Bukht, then not nine years of age, got into their palanqueens, and were

* See *Orme's Historical Fragments.*—Transactions of the year 1678.

carried, by relays of *bearers*, till day-light: they then got out, performed their ablutions, and said their morning prayers; after which they mounted on horseback, and rode till mid-day. In this manner they arrived at Benaras in twenty-five days: but of a corps of 1000 chosen horse, which left Dacca with the princes, very few persons were able to keep up with them. SECT. VI. A.D. 1679.

From Benaras they arrived in the Imperial camp, then between Ajmere and Joadpore, in twelve days: during this part of the journey, fresh horses were provided at every stage, by the public officers, for the Prince and his party; who on the last day rode seventy coss†.

One day, during the journey, the princes having outridden their attendants, and Bedar Bukht being overcome with thirst, they stopt at a well, and desired a villager to draw them some water. After they had drunk, the Prince gave the man two *ushrufies* (gold *mohrs*); which so much excited the fellow's cupidity, that, ignorant of the rank of the travellers, he demanded all their money, and refused to let them proceed. The Prince bore his insolence for some time; but, being at length irritated, he drew an arrow, and lodged it in the ill-fated wretch's breast: he then rode on; but one of the officers, who arrived at the spot soon after, recognising the arrow, cut off the man's head; and then hastening after the Prince, presented him with the arrow, and addressed him in an extemporary verse, purporting, that his Highness's orders would one day penetrate the four quarters of the globe with as much facility as that arrow had pierced the breast of his enemy.

The Prince was, however, sensible of his own rashness

† The coss are from a mile and a half to two miles long, but vary in different parts of the country.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1679.

and imprudence; and during the remainder of the journey was always provided with small coin, both of gold and silver, and even of copper, to pay for any trifling service he might require on the road.

As the expedition with which the Royal party proceeded would not permit them to have regular victuals dressed, they lived almost all the time on bread and dried fruits: but Bedar Bukht, being at length disgusted with that kind of food, requested to have some *kecheery** dressed. One of the attendants went into the caravanserai, and having procured some, brought it to the princes in a large wooden bowl: although they were both very hungry, neither of them could bring themselves to taste it out of such a vessel; and the father comforted the son by saying, "Please God, the bestower of all gifts, in a few days more we shall participate in the luxuries of the Imperial table!"

In short, Sultan Aazim, having joined the Emperor, was appointed to an important command in the army, then marching against the Rajepoot princes.

## NUWAB SHAISTA KHAN AMEER AL OMRA.

### SECOND TIME.

*Shaista Khan re-appointed to the Government—Enforces the Jizia, or poll-tax—Destroys several Hindoo temples—The English obtain an Imperial* Firmān, *or order for trade—The factories in Bengal made independent of Madras—Mr. Hedges appointed Governor of the Company's settlements in Bengal—The Royal firmān proves defective—Account of the rebellion of the Zemindar of Behar—The Company's Governor applies to the Nuwab for permission to erect a fort on the bank of the Ganges—The Nuwab refuses, and insists upon the English paying the same duties they did at Surat—Disputes in*

* A mixture of peas, rice, and butter, seasoned with pepper and salt.

*consequence—The East-India Company obtain the sanction of King James II. to make war on the Nuwab of Bengal and the Emperor of Hindoostan—An expedition is fitted out, in England, to attack Chittagong—Instructions to the Admiral—Failure of the expedition—Causes explained—An affray between the English and Moghul troops at Hoogly—The Admiral cannonades and sets fire to the town—The Foujedar requests a suspension of hostilities, and enters into a convention—The Nuwab refuses to ratify the convention—Orders all the English factories to be confiscated, and sends an army to expel them from the country—The English retreat to Chuttanutty—The Dutch and French take advantage of the dispute—The English anxious to make peace—The Nuwab sends three Commissioners from Dacca to settle terms, but at the same time reinforces the army at Hoogly—The English retreat to Injelee—Description of that place—Consequences of the retreat—The Nuwab offers to make peace—Treaty signed—The English return to Chuttanutty—The Company disapprove of the treaty, and resolve to prosecute the war—A line-of-battle ship and a frigate despatched to India, under the command of Captain Heath—The Nuwab renews his oppression of the English—The reinforcement arrives from England—Captain Heath resolves, in opposition to the wishes of Mr. Charnock, to recommence the war—Orders all the Company's servants to embark on board the fleet—Sets sail, and arrives at Ballasore—Attacks and plunders that town—Sets sail for Chittagong—Finds that place too strong to be attacked—Agrees to enter into a negociation again with the Nuwab; but, before an answer could arrive, proceeds to Arracan, and offers proposals to the Raja—Without waiting for an answer, sails to Madras—The Emperor orders the English to be expelled from his dominions—The Nuwab Shaista Khan requests permission to resign his government—Quits Bengal—Dies.*

On the same day that orders were despatched to recall Sultan Mohammed Aazim to Court, the Nuwab Shaista Khan was re-appointed to the government of Bengal; and arrived at Dacca about the end of the year 1090. A.D. 1679-80.

SECT. VI.

A.D. 1679-80.

Immediately after Shaista Khan's return to Bengal, he was compelled, in obedience to the regulations of Aurungzebe, to enforce the *Jizia*, or poll-tax, from the Hindoos*; which circumstance rendered both him and the Emperor very unpopular throughout the province. At Hoogly, his officers demanded payment of this tax by all Europeans and other Christians; but the Dutch and English refusing to pay it, the demand was modified into a present of Persian horses for the Nuwab's use.

About the same period, a number of the Hindoo temples were destroyed; and Roy Mullick Chand, a Hindoo of rank, who was accused of having committed some frauds in the revenue department, was confined in irons, and threatened to be sent in that state to the Emperor, unless he consented to turn Mohammedan. The object of this threat was merely to extort money; but the parsimonious and persevering Hindoo remained long in confinement, without complying with their wishes; and was at length liberated, at the intercession of Prince Mohammed Aazim, to whom he was known.

The factors of the English Company, having found it exceedingly troublesome and expensive to procure a fresh *order* for freedom of trade from every succeeding Governor, had, upon the removal of Shaista Khan, sent an agent with him to the Emperor's camp, to solicit an Imperial *firmān*, to settle this business for ever; and the agent, after much expense and perseverance, succeeded in procuring the Emperor's order, with which he returned to Hoogly, on the 8th of July 1680. The English factors, wishing to make a great display of their success, caused the firmān to be received with much ceremony,

The English East-India Company obtain an Imperial *Firmān*, A. D. 1677-8.

* The Jizia was 6½ per thousand on all property. The sick, lame, and blind, were excused. Christians paid 1½ per cent. additional duty on their commerce.

and to be saluted with three hundred guns, from the factory and the ships anchored opposite the town. SECT. VI. A. D. 1677-8.

The great increase of the Bengal investments, and the procuring of the Imperial firmān, induced the Company to render Bengal independent of Madras; and, in consequence, they appointed Mr. Hedges, one of their Directors, to be chief agent, or Governor, of all their affairs in the Bay of Bengal, and all other factories subordinate thereto. His residence was fixed at Hoogly; and, in order to give dignity to the office, a guard of a corporal and twenty European soldiers was sent from Fort St. George, for his protection. This was the first military establishment of the Company in Bengal, and the foundation of the English power in that country†. But as the Imperial firmān was purposely drawn out in a vague and obscure style, it soon gave rise to disputes, and involved their affairs in difficulty‡.

Mr. Hedges appointed Governor of the English settlements in Bengal, A. D. 1681-2.

Some other circumstances also occurred, about this time, which added much to the embarrassments of the English. In the year 1095, a young man, calling himself the son of Sultan Shujaa, made his appearance at Patna; who pretended he had, with much difficulty, effected his escape from Arracan; and called upon the people to espouse his cause: but Syf Khan, the governor of Behar, obtaining intelligence of the circumstance before he could procure any partizans in his favour, seized him, and put him in irons. A. D. 1682.

A few days after this event, Gangeram, the zemindar of Behar, rebelled; and, having collected a number of followers,

† To avoid a repetition of references, the reader is informed, that nearly the whole of this chapter is taken from *Orme's Indostan*, *Bruce's Annals of the East-India Company*, and *India Records*.

‡ See Appendix.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1682.

plundered the city of Behar. Immediately after, he advanced to Patna; giving out that the Prince Akbar,* who in the preceding year had rebelled against his father, had taken refuge with him; and exhorting all those who were dissatisfied with the present government to join the standard of the young prince. The Nuwab, who was detested for his tyrannical disposition, and who had neglected to keep up a proper establishment of troops, was so much alarmed, that he had not the courage to meet the rebels, but shut himself up in the city; the fortifications of which being very deficient, the inhabitants were excessively alarmed, and the merchants sent off all their most valuable property. The siege continued for some time; but owing more to the awkwardness of the assailants than to the courage of the garrison, the former failed in their attempt, and were obliged to content themselves with the plunder of the adjacent villages. Some of the soldiers of the garrison, however, commiserating the situation of the pretended son of Shujaa, struck off his irons, and permitted him to escape to the rebels; which added strength to their party, and increased the suspicions and alarm of the Governor. At length, reinforcements arriving from Benaras and Dacca, the rebels dispersed, and the gates of the city were again opened.

During the period of this disturbance, Mr. Peacock, and the other English gentlemen, continued to reside unmolested at their factory at Singee, distant ten or twelve miles from Patna, among the saltpetre grounds; which circumstance inducing the Nuwab to suspect they were in league with the rebels, he not only forbad them purchasing any more saltpetre

* See *Orme's Historical Fragments*, A. D. 1681.

that year, but threw Mr. Peacock into prison; whence it was with much difficulty and intercession that he was released.

The affairs of the Company had also, for several years, been much annoyed by the interference of other British subjects; in consequence of which, the Governor at Hoogly, Mr. Gyfford, in the year 1097, made an application, in the A. D. 1685. name of the Company, to the Nuwab Shaista Khan, for permission to erect a fortification in the mouth, or on the banks, of the Ganges—to prevent the ships of those persons, whom they denominated interlopers, from entering the river; and for the better protection of their own property. But the Nuwab was too experienced a statesman to trust foreigners with such power: he not only refused the request, but insisted, notwithstanding the Emperor's firmān, upon the English paying three and a half per cent. duties upon all their imports, instead of the annual sum of 3000 rupees, which they had formerly paid.

This circumstance, aggravated by the oppressions of the Foujedar† of Cossimbazar, brought on a dispute between the Nuwab and the English, which so injured the trade of the latter, that their ships were obliged to leave Bengal without obtaining cargoes. The Nuwab, nevertheless, stated the affair in such a light to the Emperor as much excited his anger against the English.

Whilst the minds of each party were thus exasperated, there seemed to be no other remedy for the English than—either to relinquish the trade to Bengal entirely; or, by having recourse to arms, to effect by force what they could not obtain by entreaty.

† Military Governor.

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A. D. 1685-6. The East-India Company censured their agent in Bengal for having been too submissive to the despot; and directed the Governor of Fort St. George to make strenuous application to the Emperor for a firmān, or order, permitting the English to occupy one of the uninhabited islands in the Ganges; also to fortify the port of Injelee, on the western bank of that river, that their agents, in future, might not be subjected to the impositions of the Nuwab, or his inferior officers.

James II. authorises the East-India Company to make war, A. D. 1685-6.

But as it was highly improbable that such a proposition would be acceded to, the Company obtained the sanction of King James II. to retaliate the injuries they had sustained, and to reimbure themselves for the loss of their privileges in Bengal, by hostilities against the Nuwab, and his master the great Aurungzebe.

To effect this object, an expedition was fitted out in England, consisting of ten ships of war, carrying from twelve to seventy guns each, under the command of Vice-admiral Nicholson; and on board these ships was embarked a regiment of six hundred soldiers, which, on its arrival at Madras, was to be augmented, from that garrison, to one thousand men.

Admiral Nicholson was instructed, first to proceed to Ballasore; and having brought away the Company's agents from thence, he was then to continue his voyage to Chittagong, on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal; and, having taken possession of that port, to fortify it in the best possible manner; for which purpose two hundred pieces of cannon were sent on board the fleet: and in order to facilitate this enterprise, and to forward the future views of the Company, the Admiral was directed to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Raja of Arracan; who, it was supposed, would readily co-operate with

the English, from his animosity to the Moghul government, with whom he had been frequently engaged in war, and who had recently wrested from him that part of his dominions*.

The Admiral was further instructed, to enter into terms with the Hindoo chiefs, or zemindars, in that neighbourhood; to establish a mint; to collect a revenue; and, in short, to render Chittagong *a place of arms* for the English on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, as Fort St. George was on the western shore.

As soon as this object should be accomplished, the troops, and smallest vessels, were to proceed against Dacca; and, as it was presumed the Nuwab and his army would abandon that city, peace was then to be offered to him, on the following conditions: That he should cede the city and territory of Chittagong to the Company, and pay the debts due to them by his subjects. That he should allow the rupees coined at Chittagong to pass current in Bengal; and restore to the English all the privileges they were entitled to from the firmāns of former Emperors. That each party should bear their respective losses and expenses in the war; and that this treaty should be ratified by the Emperor, and the President (of the English nation) at Surat.

But as it might be considered ungenerous to make such an attack without some previous notice, the Admiral was furnished with letters from the Company, addressed to the Nuwab and to the Emperor, explaining the grievances the English had sustained, by the breach of the firmāns under which they had so long acted; by the seizure of their

* See the year 1665 of this History.

SECT. VI. property; and by the repeated extortions made from their
A. D. 1686. agents.

This spirited, if not rash, enterprise was defeated by several unforeseen accidents: the fleet was long detained by contrary winds; it was dispersed during the voyage; and several of the ships, instead of proceeding to Chittagong, entered the western branch of the Ganges, and anchored at Hoogly.

In the meantime, the Madras government had sent round 400 soldiers; and had directed Mr. Charnock to raise a second company of Portuguese infantry, to be officered by the Company's servants.

The arrival of such a force in the Ganges immediately roused the suspicions and fears of Shaista Khan. He offered to compromise the differences with the English, and to submit the whole of their dispute to arbitrators appointed on both sides; but in order to be prepared against any acts of hostility, he ordered a considerable body of troops to encamp in the vicinity of Hoogly. These overtures and precautions were, however, rendered nugatory, and the intentions of the Company completely frustrated, by a petty affray between the troops of the opposite parties: for, after Mr. Charnock, the Governor, had been fully informed of the Company's designs, and after a considerable part of the fleet had arrived in the river, hostilities were brought on, in a premature manner, by the following unexpected circumstance.

A.D. 1686. On the 28th of October, three English soldiers quarrelled, in the market, with some of the Nuwab's troops, and were severely beaten: a company of soldiers were, in consequence, called out for their defence; afterwards a second company, and then the whole of the English troops: and as,

upon the first alarm, the Nuwab's forces, who were encamped outside the town, also joined their countrymen, a general action took place. Sixty of the Moghul troops were killed, and a considerable number of them wounded. During the conflict, Admiral Nicholson opened a cannonade on the town, and burnt five hundred houses; amongst which was the Company's factory, valued, with the goods therein, at 300,000*l.*; and a party of his seamen, having landed, spiked all the guns in the batteries. SECT. VI. A. D. 1686.

The Foujedar, much alarmed by these events, solicited a suspension of hostilities, which was granted, on condition of his giving assistance to convey the saltpetre, and other goods that might be saved from the conflagration, on board the ships: with this stipulation he immediately acquiesced; and, at a conference held between him and Mr. Charnock, agreed to restore to the English all their privileges of trade, until they could obtain a new firmān from the Emperor.

It is probable that this act of condescension, on the part of the Foujedar, was forced from him by his fears; or, that he sought merely to gain time; for as soon as the circumstances were made known to the Nuwab Shaista Khan, he directed the English factories at Patna, Malda, Dacca, and Cossimbazar, to be confiscated; and ordered a very considerable body, both of infantry and cavalry, to proceed immediately to Hoogly, and to expel the English from the country.

During this interval, the Agent and Council at Hoogly, considering that they were likely to be overpowered if they remained in that situation, retired, on the 20th of December, to Chuttanutty (part of the present Calcutta), as being a stronger and safer post; where, being under the protection A. D. 1686.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1686. of their ships, they might remain in security, till matters could be accommodated with the Nuwab.

In this situation of the English affairs, the Dutch and French took advantage of the dispute, particularly the former, who having eleven ships in the river, obtained valuable investments of goods, and re-established their factories; which, in consequence of the various oppressions they had sustained, they had previously determined to abandon.

As that part of the English shipping, which had conveyed the expedition to Bengal, required considerable repairs; and as many apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the remainder of the fleet, on board of which was embarked the greater part of the troops; it was the opinion of both Admiral Nicholson, and the Council of Hoogly, that, instead of carrying into effect the Company's designs upon Chittagong, they might consider themselves extremely fortunate if they should be able to restore matters to the same footing they had been on, previous to the commencement of hostilities: and so strongly was President Gyfford, and the Government of Madras, persuaded of the untoward termination of the expedition, that they sent a petition to the Emperor, praying for forgiveness of what had passed, and soliciting a confirmation of their former firmāns.

In the end of December, three of the Nuwab's ministers came from Dacca to Hoogly, where, having been met by Mr. Charnock and the members of his council, a preliminary treaty, ceding particular advantages to the English, was agreed upon: but this measure seems to have been adopted by the Nuwab merely to give him an opportunity of assembling his troops; for early in the month of February, a numerous army,

A. D. 1687.

consisting principally of cavalry, arrived at Hoogly, with the avowed intention of driving the English out of the country. SECT. VI. A. D. 1687.

As soon as Mr. Charnock was informed of the circumstance, he judged it imprudent to remain longer at Chuttanutty, and immediately commenced a retreat to Injelee. On their route to that place, the troops stormed and plundered the fort of Tanna, ten miles below Chuttanutty, on the western bank of the river, and burned down several magazines of salt, and granaries of rice, belonging to the Moghul subjects. They also took several Moghul ships, which they found in the river.

Injelee is an island in the mouth of the river Ganges, but separated from the western bank only by a narrow stream: the greater part of it is covered with long grass, the habitation of tigers: nor does it produce a drop of good water. In this spot, perhaps the unhealthiest of the whole province, Mr. Charnock pitched his camp, and erected batteries on the most accessible parts of the island; whilst the ships, which he had caused to be anchored in the middle of the stream, completely commanded the passage of the river.

In this situation, Abdul Sumud Khan, the Moghul General, very prudently allowed them to remain, with little molestation; well convinced, that the pestilential air and brackish water of Injelee would prove to them a more formidable enemy than any force he could bring against them. His conjectures were completely verified; for in three months more than half of the European troops died, and the remainder were only fit subjects for an hospital.

At this critical period, overtures of peace were made by the Nuwab, and were joyfully accepted by Mr. Charnock and his council: hostilities ceased; and, on the 16th of August, a treaty

SECT. VI. A. D. 1687. was signed, by which the English were permitted to return to all their factories in different parts of the province: the duty of 3½ per cent. was abrogated; and they were allowed to erect magazines and to construct docks for their shipping at Oulaberea, a populous village situated on the western bank, about eighty miles from the mouth of the river, and twenty below Calcutta. The only stipulation made, on the part of the Nuwab, was, that the English should restore the Moghul vessels they had taken, and that their ships of war should not again approach Hoogly. In order to account for this favourable change in the sentiments of the Nuwab Shaista Khan, it is requisite to state, that, at the same period Admiral Nicholson's fleet was fitted out in England for the attack on Chittagong, orders had been sent to the Governor at Bombay to withdraw the Company's factories from Surat, and the other Moghul ports on the western side of India, and to commence hostilities against the Emperor Aurungzebe, by directing the English cruisers to seize upon all the ships and vessels of the Moghul subjects, wherever they should be found.

A. D. 1687. In compliance with these orders, Sir John Child, and the principal factors, left Surat on the 25th of April; and the English cruizers having in a short time captured a number of the Moghul vessels, the Emperor became solicitous for peace, and authorized the Governor of Surat to depute an envoy to Bombay, to learn on what terms it might be obtained. He also sent orders to Shaista Khan, to compromise matters with the English in Bengal, and to permit them to re-occupy all their factories. It was in consequence of these orders that Mr. Charnock obtained such favourable and unexpected terms.

SECT. VI.
A. D. 1687.

In virtue of the treaty, Mr. Charnock, not wishing to return to Hoogly without the ships of war, took possession of Oulaberea, and commenced making docks for careening the vessels; but, after a residence of three months, he took a dislike to the place, and obtained permission to return to Chuttanutty, where the factors and troops lived in huts, till proper habitations could be erected.

When intelligence of the total failure of the expedition, and the disastrous consequences which ensued, reached England, the Company were much dissatisfied with the conduct of their servants abroad; and resolved, that unless a fortification, with a district round it, in Bengal, to be held as an independent sovereignty, should be ceded to them by the Emperor of Hindoostan, with permission to coin money which should be current throughout all his dominions, they would no longer carry on any commerce with that country, but annoy him and his subjects by every means in their power.

To effect this determination, a reinforcement of a line-of-battle ship and a frigate, on which were embarked one hundred and sixty soldiers, were despatched, under the command of Captain Heath, to Bengal, either to prosecute the war with vigour, or to bring away all the Company's servants, with whatever property might be saved from the general wreck; and to land them at Madras.

In the meantime, the Emperor's clemency to the English in Bengal not having put a stop to their hostilities on the coast of Malabar, the Nuwab found himself at liberty to recommence his oppressions on the agents of the Company. He ordered them to return and settle at Hoogly; and not to build, with either stone or brick, at Chuttanutty. He also granted

SECT. VI. A. D. 1687. free permission to his troops to plunder all their property; and demanded from Mr. Charnock a large sum of money, as a recompence for the damage his country had sustained by the late hostilities. The agent, being neither in a condition to oppose him by arms, nor to appease him with money, sent two members of his Council to Dacca, to try if he might be softened by submission. They were directed to represent to him, that the object of settling at Chuttanutty was to avoid the frequent disputes which had arisen from the factory being situated in the town of Hoogly; and that the part of the river opposite that town allotted for the English vessels was choked up with sand, so as to be unfit for the purpose. They therefore requested permission to remain at Chuttanutty, and to be allowed to purchase from the Zemindar ground sufficient for their factory.

A. D. 1686. Such was the state of affairs in the month of October, when Captain Heath arrived with his reinforcements; but being a person of a very warm disposition, he was enraged at the duplicity of the Nuwab; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Charnock, he resolved to recommence the war.

To effect this measure, he ordered all the Company's servants to embark, with their moveable property, on board the fleet, at Chuttanutty; and, on the 8th of November, set sail for Ballasore. On his arrival in the roads, the Governor of the town offered to enter into terms with him, on the part of the Nuwab; but his proposition having been rejected, he seized two of the Company's factors, who resided there, and retained them as hostages against any acts of violence: notwithstanding which, and that the two English deputies were still at Dacca, as well as two other factors in different parts of

the country, Captain Heath landed with a party of soldiers and seamen on the 29th of November, attacked and took a redoubt of thirty guns, and plundered the town of Ballasore. The English factory, on this occasion, was burned by the Governor; and the Company's servants, who had been previously taken prisoners, were carried up the country, where all subsequent efforts for their release were unavailing. This outrage was unfortunately committed on the very day that the Governor of Ballasore received a copy of the treaty which the Nuwab had made with the two deputies at Dacca; by which it was stipulated, that the English ships should co-operate with the Moghul army, in an attack upon the dominions of the King of Arracan. SECT. VI. A. D. 1688.

After the troops and seamen had glutted themselves with the plunder of Ballasore, Captain Heath set sail with his fleet, on the 18th of December, for Chittagong, where they arrived on the 17th of the month of January; but finding the works and garrison much stronger than they expected, a council of war was assembled, in which it was agreed to delay proceeding to farther hostilities, and again to write to the Nuwab at Dacca, stating their grievances and demands, and to await his answer, whether he would redress them, or compel them to make use of the power then in their hands. A. D. 1689.

Captain Heath, however, instead of waiting for the Nuwab's answer, or endeavouring to seize on Chittagong, proceeded with the fleet to the entrance of the river which leads to the city of Arracan, where he arrived on the 31st of January; and, according to the instructions received from the Company, sent proposals to the King, offering to co-operate with him against the Moghuls, provided he would grant the English a settlement

SECT. VI. A. D. 1689.

in his dominions. But nearly a fortnight having elapsed without his receiving an answer, and not being of a temper to brook the procrastination of an Indian administration, he as suddenly took disgust against this new ally; and, on the 13th of February, without waiting for the result of his proposals, sailed away with the whole fleet, consisting of fifteen ships, (having the Bengal Governor and Council, with the Company's effects, on board,) and arrived at Madras on the 4th of March, where he apologized to the Governor of Fort St. George for his conduct, by saying that nothing but falsehoods had been told on either side.

As the English had completely set at defiance the authority of the Emperor, Aurungzebe, by fortifying both Bombay and Madras, and by extending their territories in the vicinity of these places, and had also captured a number of his ships, and had even entered into an alliance with his most inveterate enemy, the Mahratta chief Sambagee, it cannot be deemed surprising that the haughty mind of that monarch was much incensed against them: he, in consequence, issued orders to his commanders to extirpate the English from his dominions; and to seize or destroy all their property, wherever it might be found. It was in obedience to these orders, that the factory at Masulipatam was seized by the governor of that district; and that the warehouses of Vizagapatam were plundered, and all the English gentlemen put to death.

The Nuwab, Shaista Khan, was also under the necessity of complying with the Emperor's orders, so far as to sequester the whole of the English property in Bengal, and to place the Company's agents at Dacca in irons. Other authorities, however, lead us to suppose, that it was not Shaista Khan, but the

person who officiated as Governor after his departure, named Behadur Khan, that committed this act of severity. SECT. VI. A. D. 1689.

We are not informed of the precise time, but it was about this period that the Nuwab, Shaista Khan, being far advanced in years, and anxious to return to his native country, obtained permission to resign the government of Bengal. Notwithstanding his harsh conduct to Europeans, his memory is to this day spoken of with the highest respect in that province. It is related, that, during his government, grain was so cheap that rice was sold at the rate of 640lbs. weight for the rupee; to commemorate which event, as he was leaving Dacca, he ordered the western gate, through which he departed, to be built up, and an inscription to be placed thereon, interdicting any future Governor from opening it, till he had reduced the price of grain to the same rate: in consequence of which injunction, the gate remained closed till the government of the Nuwab Serferaz Khan, as will hereafter be related.

Several of the public buildings erected by Shaista Khan are yet to be seen at Dacca; which city is still called, by the Mohammedans, Jehangirenagur.

Shaista Khan died at Agra in the year of the Hejira 1105, much regretted by the Emperor and a numerous circle of friends.

## NUWAB IBRAHIM KHAN.

*Ibrahim Khan appointed to the government—His character—Invites the English to return to Bengal—Mr. Charnock and his Council arrive at Chuttanutty, and are graciously received—The Nuwab forwards the Emperor's passport for the English to trade duty free—The English still dissatisfied—Soobha Sing Zemindar rebels—joined by*

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*the Afghan chief, Rehim Khan—The rebel army advance to Burdwan —Defeat and kill the Raja—The circumstance reported to the Governor, who orders Nur Allah, Foujedar of Jessore, to punish the rebels —The Foujedar shuts himself up in Hoogly—The rebels lay siege to, and take, that town—The Dutch, French, and English, obtain permission to fortify their factories—The Dutch Governor of Chinsura assists the Royalists to retake Hoogly—The rebels retreat to Saatgong —Part of the rebel forces advance to Nuddeah—Anecdote of the daughter of the Raja of Burdwan—Kills the rebel Chief—Rehim Khan chosen Generalissimo of the rebels—Pusillanimous conduct of the Governor—Niamut Khan, a Jagierdar, opposes the rebels—engages Rehim Khan in single contest—is killed—The rebels take and plunder Mukhsoosabad—The Emperor appoints his grandson, Aazeem Ooshan, Governor of the three provinces; but directs Ibrahim Khan to send a force, under his son Zubberdust Khan, against the rebels—The Royal army moves from Dacca—The rebels take post at Bogwangola—Zubberdust Khan detaches his cavalry, who surprize the rebels at Rajemahel, and give them a compleat defeat—Attacks and defeats the rebels at Bogwangola—Retakes the town of Mukhsoosabad—Advances to Burdwan, and compels the rebels to seek their safety in flight—Superseded by the Prince Aazeem Ooshan.*

A. D. 1689. UPON the final resignation of Shaista Khan, the Emperor selected, for the government of Bengal, Ibrahim Khan, son of the celebrated Persian nobleman, Aly Murdan Khan, who delivered up the fortress of Candehar to the Emperor Shah Jehan. This chief was, in character, the very reverse of his father; he administered justice with strict impartiality, and encouraged agriculture and commerce; but was totally deficient of all military abilities.

July, A. D. 1690. The first act of his authority, after assuming the government, was one most congenial to his feelings, viz. the liberation of the Company's agents who were confined at Dacca; for as

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we have seen, in the preceding chapter, that the English, in consequence of the oppression they had sustained from the Nuwab Shaista Khan, had entirely abandoned Bengal, it now also became a pleasing part of his duty to conciliate and recall the merchants of that nation.

It has been before stated, that the Emperor, being highly incensed against the English, had commanded them to be expelled from every part of his dominions: but as Aurungzebe ever made his passions subservient to his policy, and was sensible that he derived a considerable aid to his revenue by the commerce carried on by the English; also, that their ships of war could much annoy his subjects, and prevent all intercourse between his dominions and Arabia, thereby putting a stop to the pilgrims visiting Mecca,—impressed with these ideas, he, in the month of January, A. D. 1690. whilst encamped at Viziapore, in the Dekkan, authorized his ministers to form a treaty with Messrs. Weldon and Navarro, two English commissioners, who had been sent from Bombay by Sir John Child, the Director-general of the Company's settlements, to solicit peace; and upon the appointment of Ibrahim Khan to the government of Bengal, the Emperor instructed him* to invite the English to return to that province.

In consequence of this permission, the Nuwab wrote letters, addressed to Mr. Charnock at Madras, inviting him to return, and re-establish all the Company's factories; with an assurance of a perfect oblivion of every thing which had passed, and that the English should be placed on a footing

* See Appendix.

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with the most-favoured foreign nation: but Mr. Charnock and his Council were aware, from the deceptions which had been before practised, that, admitting the Nuwab to be sincere in his offers, they should still be exposed to the vexatious demands of the inferior officers, and to the avarice and oppressions of his successors; and being also displeased at the humiliating firmān which had lately been issued for Surat*; they therefore replied, that they could not accede to the proposition, unless the Emperor would grant to the Company a *specific firmān* for Bengal, stating the precise terms upon which they were in future to carry on their trade.

A second letter was written by the Nuwab to Mr. Charnock, informing him, that he had made an application to the Emperor for the desired firmān; but that as several months must elapse before it could be procured, he might, in the meantime, return, and be assured of his friendship and protection. In consequence of this invitation, Mr. Charnock, with his Council and factors, attended by an escort of thirty soldiers, returned, on the 24th of the month of August, to Chuttanutty; where, in obedience to the Nuwab's orders, addressed to Meer Aly Akbar, the governor of Hoogly, they were received with much civility.

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The next year, the Nuwab forwarded to Mr. Charnock, according to his promise, a *husb al hookum*, or order, from the Emperor Aurungzebe, authorizing the English to trade to Bengal without paying any other duty than an annual present of 3000 rupees†. However advantageous this licence may be considered in a pecuniary light, it fell far short of the expec-

* See Appendix. † Ibid.

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tation of the Company's agents, who were still left exposed to the oppressions of the Nuwab or his inferior officers, and had no security for their personal safety. It was therefore their opinion, that, unless a fortification could be procured, with a district round it, perfectly exempted from the jurisdiction of the Nuwab, the commerce of the Company could never prosper: they, for these reasons, only established a factory at Chuttanutty; and sent agents to make purchases in different parts of the country. A. D. 1691.

The year of the Hejira 1104 was marked by an extraordinary circumstance. The Grand Signior, having been informed that the Europeans procured great quantities of one of the ingredients for making gunpowder from India, wrote to Aurungzebe, to desire he would no longer permit his subjects to dispose of that article to Christians, as it was frequently used by them in the destruction of the followers of Mohammed; that, therefore, whoever supplied them was accessary to the death of the true believers. In consequence of this request, the principal source of the East-India Company's commercial advantages was, for some time, cut off, by a strict injunction to the Governor of Bengal not to allow them to purchase or manufacture any more saltpetre. A. D. 1692.

Three years after this event, the commander of a large ship belonging to the interlopers, or persons not licensed to trade to India, arriving in the Indian seas, commenced that system of piracy which was afterwards carried to such a height, under the celebrated Captain Kyd and his associates. This person seized two of the Moghul ships, which were going to Judda and Mocha with pilgrims. So gross an insult drew down upon the agents of the Dutch, French, and English nations, the vengeance of the A. D. 1695.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1695. Moghul government: their factories were all laid under sequestration, and a stop put to their trade: in Bengal alone, owing to the clemency of the governor, Ibrahim Khan, the English agents were allowed their personal freedom, and permitted to carry on their commercial proceedings in a secret manner*.

Such was the state of intercourse between the English and the Moghul government, when an incident occurred which enabled the former to obtain, without any remuneration, that object which neither bribes nor entreaties could before procure.

A. D. 1695-6. In the year 1107 of the Hejira, a Hindoo zemindar of Bengal, named Soobha Sing, who possessed the villages of Jetwa and Burdeh, in the district of Burdwan, being dissatisfied with the Raja of that place, invited Rehim Khan, an Afghan chief, who was then considered as the head of that clan remaining in Orissa, to join him in overturning the government. Having united their forces, they advanced to Burdwan, and, in a pitched battle, slew the Raja, Kishen Ram; and, with the exception of his son, seized his family and all his property.

This success inspired the rebels with great hopes, and induced a number of soldiers of fortune, and other vagabonds, to flock to their standard.

Juggut Rai, the son of the Raja, having effected his escape to Dacca, laid his complaints before the Governor, who not considering the matter of much importance, contented himself with ordering Nur Allah, the Foujedar or military commander of Jessore, to punish the insurgents.

* In January 1692, Mr. Charnock died, and was succeeded by Mr. Ellis; but Bengal was again, by the Company's orders, made subservient to Madras. Mr. Charnock's tomb is still to be seen, in good order, in the Calcutta church-yard.

But that officer, who, instead of attending to his own business, had long employed himself in commerce and in amassing wealth, and possessed nothing of the military character but the name, having, after much loss of time, collected a few of the 3000 horse of which he was the commandant, marched from Jessore, and crossed the river; but on the approach of the rebels, he shut himself up in the fort of Hoogly, and implored assistance from the governor of the Dutch settlement of Chinsura. The rebels, convinced by this pusillanimous conduct that they had little to fear from the *merchant soldier*, advanced boldly, and laid siege to Hoogly: they carried on their attacks with such vigour, that the Foujedar became alarmed for his personal safety, and during the night, having crossed the river in a boat, made his escape to Jessore. The garrison, finding their commandant had fled, opened the gates; and the rebels got quiet possession of that opulent city without any loss.

On the breaking out of the rebellion, the three European settlements, viz. the Dutch at Chinsura, the French at Chandernagore, and the English at Chuttanutty, hired a number of the native soldiery to guard their property; and, professing themselves the avowed friends of government, requested permission from the Nuwab to put their factories into a state of defence against an enemy whose resentment they must incur by their adherence to him. The Nuwab ordered them, in general terms, to defend themselves; and they, taking for granted what was not positively forbidden, with great diligence raised walls with bastions round their factories.

The Dutch, French, and English fortify their factories.

Such was the origin of the three European forts, or towns, of Chinsura, Chandernagore, and Calcutta; and they were the

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first which the Moghul government suffered foreigners to build in any part of their empire; for neither the territories of Madras nor Bombay had been subdued by the Moghuls previous to these places having been ceded to the English.

The rebels now assumed a haughty tone, and sent out detachments to every part of the country, to plunder all those who refused to join them. This proceeding caused the greatest consternation among the rich and well-disposed inhabitants. All those on the western side of the river, who could obtain admittance, took refuge in Chinsura. At length, the Governor of that place, touched with compassion for their misery, and hoping to recommend himself and nation to the Emperor, fitted out two ships of war; and, having embarked a number of European soldiers on board them, anchored in a short time opposite Hoogly.

The Dutch assist in retaking Hoogly from the rebels.

The rebels, ignorant of the intentions of the Dutch, hurried to the ramparts, to watch the motions of the ships; but were saluted with such a shower of both cannon and musquet balls, that they hastily abandoned the town, and retreated to Saatgong, formerly the Royal port of Bengal*.

From Saatgong, the zemindar, Soobha Sing, detached Rehim Khan, with the principal part of his army, to take

* Saatgong is thus described by Major Rennel, in his Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan.

"Saatgong or Sattagong, now an inconsiderable village, on a small creek of the Hoogly river, about four miles to the north-west of Hoogly, was, in 1566, and probably later, a large trading city, in which the European merchants had their factories. At that time, Saatgong river was capable of bearing small vessels; and I suspect that its then course, after passing Saatgong, was by way of Adaumpore, Omptah, and Tamlook; and the river called the *Old Ganges* was a part of its course, and received that name whilst the circumstance was fresh in the memory of the people."—See also Note to page 243 of this History.

possession of Nuddeah, and Mukhsoosabad, now called Moorshedabad, and returned himself to Burdwan.

Anecdote of the daughter of the Raja of Burdwan.

Amongst the captives which were taken in Burdwan, was a beautiful virgin, a daughter of the Raja, whom the Zemindar kept in confinement until an opportunity should offer of sacrificing her to his lust. The time was now arrived, when he thought he might gratify his vile passion with impunity: he secretly entered her apartment, and endeavoured to obtain by force what he could not effect by flattery and entreaty: but when he folded her in his arms, the girl drew from her clothes a sharp knife which she had concealed for the purpose, and stabbed him in the belly; she then turned the weapon against herself, and, with mistaken heroism, but high sense of honour, pierced her own heart. The wretch lived but a few hours; and was succeeded in his estate and power by his brother, Himmut Sing, who exerted himself to the utmost in ravaging and plundering all those persons of opulence who would not join in the rebellion.

When intelligence of the death of Soobha Sing reached the rebel army, they unanimously chose the Afghan chief to be their leader; and he, in order to give dignity to the station, assumed the royal title of Rehim Shah. By this time all the country on the west side of the river, from Rajemahel to Midnapore, was in possession of the rebels; and no measures had yet been adopted to check their progress.

Day after day, news was brought to the Governor of the alarming progress and increase of the rebels; but he, as if infatuated, replied to the remonstrances of his son and counsellors, "That a civil war was a dreadful evil, in which the lives of God's creatures were wantonly expended: that the

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rebels, if let alone, would shortly disperse of themselves; and the only consequence would be, the loss of a small portion of his Majesty's revenue."

What the Governor would not attempt had nearly been effected by the desperate hand of an individual.

Rehim Shah continued his progress through the country, everywhere plundering, or compelling the people to join him. Upon his arrival in the district of Mukhsoosabad, he summoned Niamut Khan, an officer who held a jagier, or Royal grant of lands, on which he, with his dependants, resided, to join his standard. Niamut replied, "That being an officer in the Imperial service, and a loyal subject, it was contrary both to his duty and inclination to espouse such a cause." The rebel chief, incensed at this reply, ordered a party to seize Niamut; but the friends and dependants of the latter, having by this time assembled in his defence, it was not so easily effected. Rehim Shah was therefore under the necessity of heading a body of his Afghan cavalry to effect his purpose. When he arrived at the estate of Niamut, he found a small, but united, band drawn up to receive him: as the combats in India were, even at that late period, more frequently decided by duels between the chiefs, or champions, of the contending armies, than by a general engagement, Tehuver Khan, a nephew of Niamut's, well mounted and armed, advanced into the plain, and challenged any of the Afghans to meet him. No single warrior daring to advance, a party of Afghans at once rushed forward, and, before his friends could go to his assistance, cut the youth to pieces. On hearing of this event, Niamut Khan, although only dressed in a single vest of fine muslin, without waiting to put on his helmet or armour, seized

his sword, and vaulting on his horse, which stood ready saddled, rushed into the field. His attention was soon attracted by the standard of Rehim Shah: he advanced towards him, and the Afghans receded to the right and left. Niamut saw his enemy, and boldly spurring on his horse, struck the rebel chief on the head. Dreadful must have been his sensations, when he saw the blade of his sword shivered by the impenetrable helmet of the chief, and his opponent still unmoved from his seat. Rage now strengthened his arm; he threw the handle of the sword at Rehim Shah; the knob or point of which, striking him with great violence on the side, felled him from his horse. Niamut instantly dismounted; and drawing the dagger of the rebel, attempted to pierce his throat; but the chain of the helmet again intervened; and before Niamut could effect his purpose, he was surrounded, and cut to pieces, by the Afghans: many of his friends were also slain, and all his property plundered. A. D. 1696.

The rebels then advanced to Mukhsoosabad; and after defeating 5000 of the Royal troops, took, and plundered, that town. The merchants of Cossimbazar having, however, sent a deputation to meet the rebel chief, he spared that place; but for this conduct, Golah Chund, the principal merchant, was afterwards severely fined.

About the same time, a party of the rebels approached Chuttanutty, and set fire to the villages; but the zemindars in the neighbourhood attacked, and killed, ninety of them. Another party of the rebels laid siege to the fort of Tanna*; but the English having, at the request of the Foujedar of Hoogly, sent a frigate to support the fort, the rebels were compelled to retreat.

* Ten miles west of Calcutta, on the opposite side of the river.

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In the meantime, the Europeans worked day and night in fortifying their factories at Chinsura, Chandernagore, and Chuttanutty: at the latter place, the English constructed regular bastions, capable of bearing cannon; but to avoid giving offence, the embrasures were filled up, on the outside, A. D. 1697. with a wall of single brick. In the month of March, the rebels took possession of Rajemahel and Malda, and seized upon the Dutch and English factories at the latter place, in which they found considerable property.

The first intelligence the Emperor received of these events was through the newspaper. His surprise and indignation at the conduct of the Governor was excessive; and to mark his displeasure, he immediately appointed his own grandson, the prince Azeem Ooshan, to the united government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. He, however, sent orders to the Nuwab, Ibrahim Khan, to remain till the arrival of his successor, but, in the meantime, to place his son, Zubberdust Khan, at the head of the Bengal forces, and send him immediately against the rebels. Orders were also issued to the Governors of Oude, Allahabad, and Behar, to co-operate, by every means in their power, with the Governor of Bengal, in quieting the insurrection, and extirpating the rebels.

The Emperor appoints Azeem Ooshan governor of the three provinces.

On the receipt of the Imperial orders, Zubberdust Khan, who had long beheld with regret the apathy of his father, quickly equipped an army, consisting of both cavalry and infantry, with a good train of artillery, and attended by a number of war-boats. As soon as every thing was in readiness, he marched from Dacca, and proceeded up the right bank of the Ganges.

In the meantime, the resources of Rehim Shah being greatly

increased*, he had much augmented his army; and assumed the dignity and style of a Prince. When informed of the approach of the Imperial troops from Dacca, he encamped his army on the banks of the river, in the vicinity of Bogwangola, resolving to risk his fate in a pitched battle.

But during the time that Zubberdust Khan was advancing, by short marches, with his artillery and infantry, he detached the greater part of his cavalry to beat up the quarters of the rebels, who were in possession of Rajemahel and Malda. This service was ably performed; the rebels were defeated at Rajemahel; an Afghan chief, named Ghyret Khan, was killed, and the greater part of their plunder retaken. That which belonged to the Dutch and English was reclaimed by the agents of those nations; but the Moghul commander refused to restore it without the orders of the Governor.

Zubberdust Khan defeats the rebels, A. D. 1697.

Zubberdust Khan, having arrived within a few miles of the rebel camp, landed his infantry and guns from the fleet; and, after reconnoitring the position of the enemy, ordered his war-boats to harass them from the river, while he attacked them by land. The first day was spent in a cannonade; during which the guns of the Imperial army, being served by the Portuguese in the Royal service, dismounted most of those of the enemy, and silenced the redoubts which he had thrown up along his front. The next morning, both armies being drawn out in battle array, the attack was commenced by the Imperial infantry; but in a short time the engagement became

* Governor Eyre, in his letter of December 1696, says, that the country in possession of the rebels was estimated at sixty lacs of rupees per annum; and that their force consisted of 12,000 cavalry, and 30,000 infantry. *East-India Records*, vol. XIX. page 269.

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Zubberdust Khan encamped that night on the field of battle, and employed his infantry in burying the dead, and assisting the wounded of both parties.

May, A. D. 1697. The following day was employed in writing to all the zemindars and jagierdars, announcing to them the victory gained by his Majesty's troops, commanding them to cut off all communication with the rebels, and to prevent their receiving any supplies of provisions. The good effects of these orders, and of the victory, were immediately apparent; many of the zemindars in the vicinity of the field of battle hastened to the Royal camp, and offered to join the army with their quotas of troops.

Zubberdust Khan, having made all the requisite arrangements, marched to the neighbourhood of Mukhsoosabad, and encamped on an extensive plain, to the eastward of the town, intending to attack the rebels next morning; but during the night Rehim Shah crossed the river, and took the route of Burdwan. The Imperialists followed him to Burdwan; and having driven him thence, pursued him from place to place.

We must now take leave, for a short time, of Zubberdust Khan, to detail the operations of the prince Azeem Ooshan.

## SULTAN AZEEM OOSHAN.

*The prince Azeem Ooshan appointed to the government of the three provinces—Marches from the Dekhan to Allahabad—Orders the Governor of Oude, and Zemindars of Benaras and Behar, to join him—Arrives at Patna—Commands Zubberdust Khan not to risk another engagement with the rebels, till he should join him—Zubberdust Khan cantons his army at Burdwan—The Prince stops at Mongier—Advances to Burdwan—Affronts Zubberdust Khan by the coolness of his reception—The General quits the army in disgust—The rebels re-assemble, and encamp in the vicinity of Burdwan—The Dutch and English send agents to the Prince, to solicit further extension of their privileges—The Prince makes amicable overtures to the rebels, who agree to submit, provided Khuaje Anvur, the Prince's minister, is sent to assure them of safety—The rebels murder the Khuaje, and attack the Royal camp; but are defeated, and their chief, Rehim Shah, killed; after which the others submit—The Prince establishes his residence in Burdwan—Devotes his attention to the affairs of the province—Builds a mosque in Burdwan, and a new bazar in Hoogly—Regulates the customs of the port—Anecdote of a celebrated Derveish—The Prince interferes between the Foujedar of Hoogly and the English, respecting the appointment of a Cazy, or Mohammedan Judge, to Calcutta—The Prince proceeds to Dacca—wishes to make a monopoly of the foreign trade—severely reprimanded by the Emperor—The King of England sends an Ambassador to the Court of Aurungzebe—The Ambassador lands at Masulipatam, but afterwards proceeds to Surat, and lands there—Sets out for the Moghul camp—Obtains an audience of the Emperor—graciously received, and orders issued for preparing the Firmāns—Intelligence received that an English pirate had taken three of the Moghul ships—The Ambassador required to give security against similar aggressions—refuses—The negociation broken off—The Ambassador quits the Moghul camp—sails from Surat—dies—The Emperor, incensed at the English, orders all the Europeans in his dominions to be confined—Origin and rise of Moorshud Cooly Jaffier Khan—Appointed Dewan of Bengal—Description of the officers of*

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*Nazim and of Dewan—Moorshud Cooly enters with assiduity upon his employment—Dissentions between him and the Prince—The latter accused of attempting to assassinate the Dewan—The Dewan removes his residence to Mukhsoosabad—The Emperor, displeased with the Prince, orders him to quit Bengal, and to reside in Behar—The Prince proceeds to Rajemahel, and afterwards to Patna, where he establishes his residence, and gives his own name to that city—In consequence of the Emperor's orders, the English at Patna and Rajemahel are confined—The inhabitants of Calcutta threatened—The Dewan demands the original firmāns—The English, having lost theirs, are obliged to bribe the Secretary—Benevolent conduct of the Prince—The Dewan proceeds to Court—Graciously received by the Emperor—Re-appointed Dewan of the three provinces, and deputy of the Prince in Bengal and Orissa—State of the English affairs in Bengal—Azeem Ooshan recalled to Court—Death of the Emperor Aurungzebe—Aazim Shah, the second son, mounts the throne, and marches towards Dehly—The prince Azeem Ooshan arrives at Agrà—Receives intelligence of the Emperor's death—Endeavours to seize Agra for his father—Disappointed in getting the fort, but secures the district—Seizes the Bengal revenue—Levies an army—Meeting between him and his father, Shah Alum—The Governor delivers up the fort of Agra to the latter, who soon after marches to meet Aazim Shah—Battle between the brothers—Aazim Shah, and both his sons, killed—Shah Alum takes the title of Behadur Shah—Appoints his son, Azeem Ooshan, governor of the four provinces, of Allahabad, Behar, Bengal, and Orissa; but orders him to retain Moorshud Cooly Khan as his deputy in the two latter provinces—The Prince continues to reside at Court, but appoints Syed Abdullah Khan to be his deputy in Allahabad, and Syed Hussein Aly Khan to be his deputy in Behar;—Behadur Shah dies—Contest between his four sons for the empire—Azeem Ooshan is killed, and Jehandar Shah succeeds to the throne.*

Azeem Ooshan made Governor, A. D. 1696.

IT has been before stated, that when the Emperor Aurungzebe, in the year 1108, heard of the insurrection in Bengal, he immediately appointed his grandson, Azeem Ooshan, second son of Behadur Shah, to the government of that province.

The Prince was, at the period of his appointment, in the Royal camp, then in the Dekkan; and as soon as he received the investiture of his office, marched with a select corps of 12,000 cavalry towards Allahabad: but as that prince will make a conspicuous figure in the sequel of this history, it is presumed that the following short account, given of him, and of the policy of Aurungzebe, by an eye-witness of the events, will not be deemed impertinent.

"Azeem Ooshan, the second son of Behadur Shah, was a statesman of winning manners. Aulumgeer (the Emperor Aurungzebe) had always pursued the policy of encouraging his grandsons, and employing them in public affairs; for as his sons were ambitious of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controlled them, by opposing to them rivals in their own families; as Bedār Bukht to Aazim Shah; and Azeem Ooshan to Shah Alum Behadur Shah. To Azeem Ooshan he had given the advantageous government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa*."

Upon the Prince's arrival at Allahabad, he sent orders to the Governor of Oude immediately to join him, with all his forces: he also issued his commands to all the zemindars in that neighbourhood, and to those of Benaras and Behar, to join his camp as soon as he should enter their respective territories, on his route to Bengal.

When the Prince arrived at Patna, he heard of the success of Zubberdust Khan; and fearing that so active an officer would gather all the laurels before his arrival at the scene of

* Vide Memoirs of the Moghul Empire, by Eradut Khan. *Scott's History of the Dekkan*, vol. II.

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May, A. D. 1697.

action, and leave him nothing by which he might gain credit with the Emperor, he sent positive commands to the General not to risk another engagement until he should join him with his victorious army. Zubberdust Khan saw clearly the object of this order, and was much hurt at having his hands thus tied up; but as the rainy season was just setting in, he cantoned his army in the vicinity of Burdwan, and waited patiently the arrival of the Prince, who also cantoned his army at Mongier, and did not advance to Burdwan till the end of the year. Upon the approach of the Prince, Zubberdust Khan advanced several miles, to meet, and to pay his respects to, the grandson and representative of the Emperor: but so cool and distant was the reception he met with from his Highness, that he resolved immediately to quit the army, and to proceed with his father, the deposed Governor, to Court.

Having delivered over the command of the troops, he made known his request to his Royal Highness; who, jealous of the fame that Zubberdust Khan had so justly acquired, was graciously pleased to comply with his wishes; although, by so doing, he greatly reduced the strength of his own army; as nearly 8000 of the best troops were the dependants, or followers, of the General and his father, and went away with him.

A. D. 1698.

The departure of Zubberdust Khan was a subject of great joy and exultation to the rebels; they dreaded the activity and courage of that officer; and hoped to gain some advantage from the want of experience and local knowledge of the Prince. Rehim Shah immediately sent directions to all his followers; who, in order to conceal themselves, had dispersed in various parts of the country, to join him on a certain day.

Thus while the Prince was amusing himself at Burdwan,

and receiving the congratulations of the zemindars and principal men of the province, the rebels again collected in great force; and had the audacity, not only to plunder the districts of Nuddeah and Hoogly, but to encamp within a few miles of Burdwan. SECT. VI. A. D. 1697.

During the time the Prince was at Burdwan, the Dutch chief, of Chinsura, sent an agent to the camp; who represented, that while his nation paid a duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all their commerce, the English only paid the petty sum of 3000 rupees per annum; and therefore solicited that the Dutch might be put on the same footing.

As it was notorious that the Prince was of a very indolent disposition, and would not give himself much trouble to ascertain the original cause of such a distinction; and that he had come into the province for the express purpose of amassing a fortune, in consequence of which no business could be transacted without a bribe, and that the judicious application of money might procure any favour; the English also deputed, as their envoy, one of the most intelligent of the Company's servants, a Mr. Walsh, not only to oppose the intrigues of the Dutch, but to procure from his Highness a grant of the villages of Chuttanutty, Gobindpore, and Calicotta; also to demand restitution of the Company's property, which was taken from the rebels at Rajemahel, and detained by the Moghul General: he was further authorized to solicit a confirmation of the English privileges, by the Prince's special Nishān, or order, for freedom of trade, without the payment of any duties.

Mr. Walsh arrived in the Prince's camp, at Burdwan, in January; but owing to the interruption of business by the war against the rebels, and various other procrastinations, he A. D. 1698.

SECT. VI.

The English obtain further privileges, A. D. 1698.

did not effect the object of his mission till the month of July; when, at length, by the payment of a considerable sum of money, the Prince's order for the purchase of the lands was forwarded to Chuttanutty; but on being shewn to the zemindars of the three villages, they refused to make over the lands, as the order was not countersigned by the King's Dewan. This circumstance caused a further delay; and it was the end of the year before the business was settled to the satisfaction of the English: nor did they receive the Prince's order for freedom of trade till the month of January 1700*.

From this digression we return to the account of the war, as given by the native historian.

When Azeem Ooshan was informed of the proceedings of the rebels, instead of attacking them with vigour, he had the weakness to send a letter to Rehim Shah, admonishing him to return to his duty, with a promise of forgiveness, and of being taken into the Royal favour if he complied. The rebel received the letter with hypocritical marks of respect; and returned a verbal message, "That if the Prince would send to him Khuaje Anvur, his chief counsellor, with assurances of safety, he would come and pay his devoirs to his Royal Highness."†

* It was during this period that the great contest between the two English Companies took place in Bengal. The Prince could not understand the subject, but took bribes from both parties: from the Old Company he got 16,000 rupees; and from the New, 14,000.

† Governor Eyre, in his letter dated January 6, 1698, states, it was reported that the Prince sent the rebel chief a pair of shackles and a sword, desiring him to take his choice: that the rebel took the sword; but sent a polite message to the Prince, pointing out to him the great age of the Emperor, the contentions that must ensue upon his death, and the favourable opportunity that was now presented to his Highness, of securing for himself the rich province of Bengal, by taking into his favour and service the Afghans, whose friendship he would find not less serviceable than their enmity would prove formidable. *East-India Records*, vol. XIX. page 253.

The Prince, whose disposition was open and sincere, gave his enemy credit for an equal degree of candour; and ordered Khuaje Anvur to proceed early the next morning to the Afghan camp, and bring the rebel chief to his presence. The Khuaje reposing the same confidence as the Prince did in the assurances of Rehim Shah, advanced, with a small party of attendants, to the boundaries of his camp; and sent a message that he was there, ready to give him the required assurances of safety, and to conduct him to the presence of the Prince.

Whether Rehim Shah had changed his mind during the night, or wished to be more highly honoured in the sight of his followers, he insisted that the Khuaje should come to his tent; and there, in the presence of witnesses, repeat the Prince's invitation and assurances of safety. But the Khuaje, suspecting some treachery, declined going into the camp, and attempted to return home. He was pursued by a party of the Afghans; and after defending himself to the last extremity, he and all his attendants were cut to pieces.

After this atrocious act of villainy, Rehim Shah, convinced that he had nothing to expect from the clemency of the Prince, ordered his troops to mount, and to make a sudden and vigorous attack on the Royal camp.

This movement was executed with such rapidity, that Azeem Ooshan had barely time to mount his elephant before he was surrounded by a party of the Afghans, headed by their chief, Rehim Shah; and would certainly have been taken prisoner, had not a brave Arab officer, named Hamid Khan, called out, that he was the Prince, and challenged the Afghan to single combat; at the same moment discharging an arrow, which penetrated the rebel's side; a second arrow from his

SECT. VI.

Rehim Shah slain in battle, A. D. 1698.

hand wounded his antagonist's horse in the head, who thereon reared up, and threw his rider on the ground: the Arab instantly dismounted, and, having cut off Rehim Shah's head, held it up on the point of his lance.

The Afghans, seeing the catastrophe of their chief, were struck with panic, and fled on all sides. After which they offered to submit to the Prince, provided he would take them into his service; which being agreed to, a general amnesty was passed, and peace restored to the harassed province.

After this unexpected victory, the Prince proceeded to the tomb of Shah Ibrahim Sukka*, in the vicinity of Burdwan: and having returned thanks to the Almighty for his success, he ordered a large sum of money to be distributed, in alms, to the poor and religious persons who attended on the shrine of the Saint. He then entered the city, and took up his residence in the fort, which at that period was considered a place of some strength.

The Prince continued to reside for a considerable time in Burdwan: during which period he directed his attention to repairing the injuries that had been committed by the rebels, and in bringing back the inhabitants of those districts, who had been compelled to abandon their homes. He restored Juggut Roy, the son of the murdered Raja, to his zemindary of Burdwan; and recompensed all those persons who, having remained firm in their allegiance, had been dispossessed of their lands by the rebels. For the brave Hamid Khan he procured, from the Emperor, the title of Shumshere Khan Behadur, and

* This person was originally a water-carrier; but having associated with the Soofies, he became a celebrated author of poems and religious works. After his death he was canonized, and his tomb is still resorted to by pilgrims.

the office of Foujedar, or military commander, of the districts of Bundasil and Silhet: he also liberally rewarded all the other officers who had distinguished themselves on this occasion. During the period that Azeem Ooshan resided at Burdwan, he built, in that city, a public mosque: he also caused to be constructed, in Hoogly, a new *bazar*, to which he gave the name of Shah Gunge; but the people, in compliment to him, called it Azeem Gunge. He regulated the customs of the port of Hoogly at two and a half per cent. on all goods belonging to Mohammedans; but compelled the Hindoos* to pay five, and the Christians three and a half, per cent. on their merchandise. He also established the inland duties, called *sair*, upon various commodities passing from one place to another, in the interior of the country. In short, the Prince devoted much of his time to the performance of the duties of his office, and to the improvement of the revenues. He also every day allotted several hours to the conversation of the learned and religious, and had frequently passages from the best authors read to him. He often visited the hermits and derveishes, and solicited their prayers for his succession to the throne. SECT. VI. A. D. 1698.

Anecdote of a celebrated Derveish.

One day the Prince sent his two sons, Kereem Addeen and Ferrokhsere, to visit a celebrated Soofy†, named Bayezid, and to request that the holy man would take the trouble of coming to the palace. Upon their arrival near the Saint's dwelling, Ferrokhsere alighted from his horse; and approaching, in the most respectful manner, paid his compliments, and delivered his father's message, whilst the other brother scarcely deigned to return the Soofy's salutation.

* The English were exempted from this duty, as they paid a specific sum annually.

† Hermit, or Monk. There are several orders of them.

SECT. VI.

A. D. 1698.

The Saint was much irritated at the conduct of Kereem Addeen, and highly pleased by the humility of Ferrokhsere: he therefore took the latter by the hand, and, causing him to sit down beside him, blessed him, and said to him, "To you is this day given the empire of Hindoostan." He soon after arose, and accompanied the youths to the palace.

When Azeem Ooshan was informed of the approach of the Soofy, he arose from his seat, and advanced to meet him; and after having made many apologies for the trouble he had given him, seated him on his own musnud. He shortly after communicated to the Saint the object of his wishes; and supplicated his prayers, that he might one day succeed to the throne. The Saint with great dignity replied, "Alas! what you desire has already been given to your son Ferrokhsere: the arrow of my prayer has been shot from the bow, and cannot be recalled." He then arose, bade the Prince adieu, and retired to his cell; leaving Azeem Ooshan quite discomfited by his prediction, to which he gave much credit, and which, in the sequel, was realized.

The villages of Chuttanutty, Govindpore, and Calicotta, which, in virtue of the Prince's Nishān, had been purchased from the zemindars, with their districts, extended about three miles on the eastern side of the Bhaggarutty river, and about one mile inland. The latter of these villages takes its name from a temple dedicated to Caly, the Hindoo goddess of time; and from it the English called their town Calcutta.

Fort William, Calcutta.

In the year 1699-1700, the factory of Calcutta, which, in consequence of the fortifications that had been added to it during the rebellion, was dignified by the appellation of a Fortress, was named, in compliment to the King of England,

Fort William: and, as a number of opulent natives, in consequence of the security given to their property, and facility to their trade, had been induced to build houses in the town, and make it their residence, its prosperity excited the jealousy of the Foujedar of Hoogly, who, pretending that he should be punished for suffering so many of the Moghul subjects to withdraw themselves from his jurisdiction, threatened to send a Cazy, or Mohammedan judge, and officers of the police, to administer justice amongst the natives living under the protection of the English flag: but as this measure would have submitted the English to the same inconveniences which they had formerly suffered at Hoogly, it was counteracted by a bribe sent to the Prince, who forbad the Governor of Hoogly from proceeding in his intentions. By this constant attention to the accumulation of wealth, Azeem Ooshan is said to have carried with him, out of the province, three millions of pounds sterling in specie, and jewels to a very great amount. SECT. VI.

The Prince, after a residence of nearly three years in Burdwan, having regulated the affairs of the western part of Bengal to his satisfaction, ordered the state-boats which had been built during the government of Sultan Shujaa, to be collected in the vicinity of Hoogly; and embarking at that place, proceeded with great pomp to Dacca, and took possession of the Royal palace. A. D. 1700-1.

By the advice of some narrow-sighted politician, the Prince was induced, about this time, to adopt a measure which not only gave great disgust to the commercial part of the community, but drew on him the displeasure of the Emperor Aurungzebe.

The Prince wished to become the sole merchant of all

SECT. VI. European and foreign goods brought to Bengal; he therefore established agents at all the ports, with authority to purchase the cargo of every ship that arrived, at a low price; and afterwards retail the goods to the merchants at a considerable profit. To this species of commerce was assigned the epithets of *Soudai Khās* and *Soudai Ām*, special and general purchases.

He also, in order to gain popularity with the Hindoos, celebrated their holydays; putting on yellow and rose-coloured garments, and entering into the sports which are practised on the anniversary of the return of spring.

When, through the medium of the newspapers, the Emperor received information of the Prince's conduct, he wrote him, with his own hand, a letter replete with irony and sarcasm; observing, that a yellow turban, and rose-coloured garments, suited but ill with a beard of forty-six years' growth. He also
A. D. 1701. explained that the monopoly, which he had dignified with the name of *Soudai Khās*, was nothing less than individual insanity and public oppression*; and to evince to his subjects that he would not sanction any act of injustice, even by his sons or grandchildren, he struck off 500 horse from the Prince's military rank.

The great confusion occasioned in India by the contest between the rival English Companies, and the depredations of the pirates, induced his Majesty King William, in the year 1698-9, to depute Sir William Norris as his Ambassador to the Court of the Emperor of Hindoostan. The object of this mission was to solicit *firmāns*, or privileges, for the English nation; and to render the *New*, or English Company, its representative in India†.

* In Persian, *Souda* means *traffic*; but in Arabic, *madness*.

† See *Bruce's Annals of the East-India Company*, A. D. 1698-9.

SECT. VI.

The King of England sends an Ambassador to Aurungzebe, A. D. 1699.

The Ambassador landed at Masulipatam on the 25th of Sept. 1699, where he was detained by various obstacles, arising chiefly from the jarring interests of two Companies belonging to the same nation, till the end of the following year: and not being permitted to pursue his journey to the Emperor's camp by Golcondah, he proceeded by sea to Surat, and landed at that port on the 10th of December; but owing to the A. D. 1700. intrigues of Sir John Gayer, the agent of the *Old* or London Company, the Governor of Surat refused to receive Sir William Norris as the Ambassador of the English nation, unless he could produce his credentials, signed by his Majesty. These having been produced, the Ambassador landed, and was received by Sir Nicholas Waite, the Consul of the *New* Company, with great respect.

On the 26th of January, the Ambassador set out on his A. D. 1701. journey towards the Emperor's camp, with a retinue of sixty Europeans and 300 natives‡. On the 3d of March he reached Brampore; at which place it became expedient to visit the vizier Gazy Addeen Khan, one of the viziers who happened to be there. Some time was spent in adjusting the ceremonies; but the Ambassador, requiring to be admitted to a conference, preceded by drums, trumpets, &c. which the Vizier refused, as being inconsistent with Eastern usages on such occasions, the Ambassador held this refusal to be derogatory from his dignity, and left Brampore without having any conference with the Vizier; and on the 7th of April reached Pennalla, near which the camp of Aurungzebe was situated: and as

‡ An account of the procession, and list of the presents, may be found in *Bruce's Annals of the East-India Company*, A. D. 1700-1, page 462.

SECT. VI. soon as he had notified his arrival, he was permitted to
A. D. 1701. pitch his tents in the vicinity of the Royal residence.

On the 28th of April the Ambassador obtained his first audience, and was most graciously received. He, in consequence, made an application to the Emperor to issue *firmāns* for freedom of trade to the New Company. His Majesty condescendingly promised that he would give orders to his viziers on the subject. Sometime after, the Ambassador had a second audience, and presented the Emperor with 200 gold *mohurs;* and the business seemed to be in a fair train of success, when intelligence arrived from Surat, that three Moghul ships, coming from Mocha, had been captured by an English pirate: in consequence of this information, the Viziers demanded that the Ambassador should not only give security for the return of these ships, but that he should guaranty the future safety of the Moghul commerce against pirates of every description. The Ambassador declined entering into this stipulation; and was thereon informed, that "he knew his way back to England." Considering this answer as a dismission from the Court, Sir William Norris desired passes to be issued for his safe return to Surat; and on the morning of the 5th of November quitted the Moghul camp.

Some efforts were made by the Viziers to induce the Ambassador to alter his resolution; and he was forcibly detained at Brampore, till a letter, and a sword, for the King of England, from Aurungzebe, arrived.

A. D. 1702. On the 7th of January, Sir William Norris was permitted to continue his journey, and arrived at Surat on the 12th of April. On the 29th of the same month, he embarked on

board the Scipio, and a few days afterwards sailed for England; but died before the ship reached St. Helena.

In consequence of the abrupt termination of the negociation, and the continued depredations of the pirates, the Emperor was much incensed, and gave command that every European in his dominions should be seized, and thrown into prison*.

It now becomes requisite to relinquish, for a time, the affairs of the English, and of Azeem Ooshan; and to introduce to the reader a character, who, in the sequel, will make a conspicuous figure in the transactions of Bengal. This person was the son of a poor Brahman†, and, during his youth, was purchased by a Persian merchant, named Hajy Shuffia, who took him to Ispahan, and, having circumcised him, changed his name to Mohammed Hady, and educated him as one of his own children. Upon the death of the merchant, his heirs manumitted the youth, and permitted him to proceed to the Dekkan; where, soon after his arrival, he obtained an inferior employment in the service of Hajy Abdullah, Dewan (superintendant of the revenues) of Berar; in this situation he evinced such a knowledge of accounts, and expertness in business, that within a few years he was recommended to the Emperor Aurungzebe, as a fit person to fill the office of Dewan of Hyderabad, then vacant: he was in consequence appointed to that office, and dignified with the title of Kar Tulb Khan.

Origin of Moorshud Cooly Khan.

* The failure of this embassy was, in part, owing to the animosity existing between the Old and New Companies; all of which are fully detailed in Mr. Bruce's *Annals*; and I have therefore purposely avoided entering into any discussion on the subject. Happily for the repose of all parties, these dissentions were terminated by the union of the two Companies in 1702-3; but the adjustment of their respective affairs was not completed till the year 1708, when they took the title of *The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies.*

† See *Muasir al Omrah.*

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A continuation of the same line of conduct which had recommended him to the Emperor, induced that monarch to
A.D. 1701. nominate Kar Tulb Khan, in the year 1113, to the important office of Dewan of Bengal, with the title of Moorshud Cooly Khan; under which name he will be continued throughout this History*.

During the despotic reign of Aurungzebe, the offices of Nazim (military governor) and Dewan were kept perfectly distinct: the business of the former was to defend and protect the country from foreign insult or domestic insurrections, and to enforce a strict obedience to the laws: to the latter was assigned the collection of the revenues, and the disbursements of all the requisite expenses†. He was, in a certain degree, subject to the orders of the Nazim; being obliged to comply with all written orders, for money, from that officer, for the service of government: but the Nazim was responsible to to the exchequer for any improper use of that power: he received his regular salary from the Dewan, and was not entitled to any further emolument from his office. These two officers were, however, commanded to consult with each other, upon all important affairs: and to act in concert upon every public emergency, according to the regulations which from time to time were issued.

Moorshud Cooly Khan, soon after his appointment, proceeded to Dacca, and entered with alacrity upon the business of

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* By Mr. Orme he is called Jaffier Khan; and by Mr. Gladwin, and the translator of the *Sier al Muhakhereen*, sometimes Jaffier Khan, and at other times Moorshud Cooly. But as a second Jaffier Khan will appear in the pages of this History, I have thought it better to let him retain the title of Moorshud Cooly Khan throughout.

† A copy of the Dewan's commission may be found in the Appendix to the 3d volume of *Dow's History of Hindoostan*.

his office. He found that the country was rich and productive, but that the public revenue had been absorbed in improper channels. He therefore appointed his own collectors to the different districts; and in a short period ascertained that the revenue of Bengal amounted to one crore (ten millions) of rupees. SECT. VI. A. D. 1701-2.

During the superintendance of former Dewans, the greater part of Bengal had, from the idea of its being an unhealthy and unproductive country, been made over to military jagierdars‡; and only a small proportion of it remained under the immediate controul of the exchequer: its revenue therefore had not even sufficed to pay the Nazim, and military and civil establishments; in consequence of which, money was frequently drawn from the other Soubahs, to liquidate the debts of Bengal. The first act of Moorshud Cooly's authority was, to request the Emperor to cancel all the jagiers of Bengal; and to assign to the officers lands in Orissa, and other districts; where the hand of authority, aided by private influence and superintendance, was required to enforce the collections.

His suggestions were readily attended to; and all the assignments on lands, except the stipends of the Nizamut and Dewany, were transferred to Orissa. By this means the whole of the zemindars, or Hindoo landholders, were placed under the immediate controul of the Dewan, who, by his authority, enforced a very considerable rise on their rents, and thereby much augmented the revenue of the state.

This conduct acquired for Moorshud Cooly Khan great celebrity at Court; but the haughty spirit of the Prince,

‡ Possessors of lands, held by assignment from the Crown for particular services.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1702. Azeem Ooshan, could ill brook the constant interference, in all pecuniary transactions, of the Dewan, and his frequent opposition to his Royal Highness's commands. Beside these causes, the Prince was exceedingly jealous of the high favour in which Moorshud Cooly stood with the Emperor; and the courtiers and favourites of the Prince, whose extravagance, or assumed powers, were constantly controuled by the Dewan, fanned the flame, and added fuel to his already exasperated temper: Azeem Ooshan was therefore exceedingly anxious to get rid of his rival, if it could be effected without risking the displeasure of the Emperor.

As in the East there have been at all times found people ready to commit the most daring acts, or to perpetrate the most atrocious murders, when supported by the hand of power, or bribed by the temptation of wealth; an officer, named Abdal Vahid, commanding a long-established corps of horse, called Nukedy, who were entitled to their pay monthly from the treasury, and therefore looked with contempt on the other troops paid by assignments on the zemindars,—and who were, besides, noted for their insolence and contempt of all authority,—proposed to the Prince to assassinate the Dewan, if he would ensure to him, or to his heirs, a large sum of money. The offer having been accepted, Abdal Vahid ordered his men to waylay the Dewan, the next time he came to pay his respects to the Prince.

A. D. 1702-3.

An opportunity soon after offered: the Dewan, who was never deficient in etiquette and respect to the Viceroy, left his house one morning, to pay his obeisance at the palace; but before he had gotten half way, his retinue was stopped in the street by a large body of the Nukedy regiment, who, in a

clamorous manner, demanded their pay. The Dewan, who always went abroad well armed, and was attended by a considerable number of armed followers, immediately jumped out of his palanquine; and, drawing his sword, commanded his attendants to clear the road, and drive those fellows away. The Nukedies, seeing his resolution and firmness, shrunk back, and allowed him to proceed unmolested to the palace*; where, as soon as he entered, he loudly accused the Prince of being the author of this conspiracy. He then seated himself, in a rude and indecorous manner, opposite to him; and putting his hand to his dagger, said, "If you want my life, here let us try the contest: if otherwise, take care that nothing of this kind ever again occurs."

The Prince alarmed by his threats, and dreading the severe justice of the Emperor, was very much agitated; and after protesting his innocence in the most solemn manner, sent for Abdal Vahid, and severely reprimanded him for the flagitious conduct of his men, threatening him with the severest marks of his displeasure if they were ever again guilty of such disorderly behaviour; these excuses did not, however, satisfy the Dewan; he proceeded immediately to the Public Hall of Audience, and, having sent for Abdal Vahid, examined into the arrears due to the corps; and, after giving him an assignment for the amount, on one of the zemindars, discharged him and his regiment from the Imperial service.

Moorshud Cooly then returned home; and having drawn

* This building, called the Pooshteh, is still in existence, and is inhabited by the chief civil servant at Dacca.

SECT. VI. out a statement of all the circumstances, had it authenticated
A. D. 1702-3. by the signatures of the public officers; and forwarded it, with a representation from himself, to the Emperor.

After acting in so spirited and independent a manner, Moorshud Cooly deemed it unadvisable to remain in the same place with the Prince; and having consulted with his friends on the most advantageous situation, he resolved to fix his residence at Mukhsoosabad, as being nearly in the center of the province, and equally convenient for collecting the revenues from all parts. Having decided on this measure, he left Dacca without taking leave of the Viceroy; and carrying with him all the public officers attached to the Dewany, proceeded to Mukhsoosabad; the name of which, in order to commemorate this event, he some years afterwards changed to Moorshudabad; thus to hand down his own name to posterity.

When the well-authenticated statement of the disturbance at Dacca, and the attempt on the life of the Dewan, reached the Emperor, who was then in the Dekkan, he sent an order to Azeem Ooshan, severely reprimanding him; and threatening him, that if the smallest injury was offered, either to the person or to the property of Moorshud Cooly Khan, he, although his grandchild, should be answerable for it. He further commanded the Prince immediately to quit Bengal, and to fix his residence in the province of Behar.

A. D. 1703. Azeem Ooshan knew too well the arbitrary disposition of his grandfather to attempt any justification of his conduct, or to procrastinate his departure: he therefore appointed his second son, Ferrokhsere, under the superintendance of Ser Balund Khan, to be his deputy in Dacca; and embarking with the remainder of his family, and all the public officers, on

board the government boats, proceeded to Rajemahel, and took possession of Sultan Shujaa's palace. The air of that place, however, not agreeing with his family, he sometime after removed to Patna, the castle and fortification of which he repaired, and, by permission of the Emperor, changed the name of the city to Azeemabad; by which appellation it is still distinguished by all the followers of Mohammed.

It has been before stated, that, on the abrupt termination of Sir William Norris's embassy, the Emperor had issued orders to seize and confine every European in his dominions: in consequence of which, in the month of February 1702, the whole of the English settled at Patna and Rajemahel, with all their effects, were seized, to make good the damages done by the pirates: the amount of the property, however, proving inconsiderable, the Company's servants were confined for fifty-one days in the public jail, but were afterwards liberated on their parole. On the 30th of March the order was extended to all the European factories; and the loss of the English Company, on this occasion, amounted to sixty-two thousand rupees. In this month, also, the Foujedar of Hoogly issued an order to seize all the Company's effects at Calcutta; but the President, Mr. Beard, having previous notice of his intentions, had so well prepared for his defence, that the Foujedar hesitated to attack the factory; and, by the private intervention of the Prince, who durst not openly oppose the Emperor's commands, at length desisted from his intentions. He, however, seized upon all the goods belonging to the Company which were coming down the river to Calcutta; but the spirited conduct of the English, on this occasion, by

SECT. VI. A.D. 1703.

preventing any of the Moghul ships from passing down the river, obliged him to release the property.

During the whole of this business, the Prince Azeem Ooshan evinced the greatest moderation; and would not have carried into effect the orders of the Emperor, had he not been goaded thereto by the Imperial Dewan. In the month of October, he sent orders to liberate the Company's agents confined at Rajemahel, and directed that they should be permitted to proceed to Calcutta; shortly after which an order arrived from Court to take off the embargo on trade. On this occasion the Dewan relaxed in his severity, and offered freedom of trade to all the Europeans, provided they would make him and the Prince handsome presents; which the English refused. The Dewan, however, insisted upon the agents of the three European nations producing the original firmāns upon which they claimed their privileges. The Dutch and French produced theirs; but the firmān of Sultan Shujaa, having been lost, by one of the English agents in going to Madras, forty years before, the English were obliged to bribe the Dewan's secretary to let the matter drop.

Moorshud Cooly Khan, having fixed his residence at Mukhsoosabad, assembled there all the public officers of his department; and at the end of the year, having made up his accounts, in which was clearly exhibited the great increase he had made to the revenue of the provinces, prepared to set out for Court, in order personally to lay them before the Emperor: on presenting the papers, however, to the two Canoungoes*, whose

* Officers in the revenue department, subordinate to the Dewan. The word means, literally, Explainer of the Regulations.

counter-signatures were requisite for their being audited in the Imperial exchequer, one of them, named Dherp Narain, refused his signature, unless bribed by a present of three lacs of rupees; but the Dewan, conscious of the accuracy of his statement, refused his demand; and having obtained the signature of the other Canoungoe, notwithstanding his being on bad terms with the Prince, proceeded to the Imperial camp in the Dekkan; and having first presented the Emperor and his ministers with a very large sum of money, and a number of curiosities brought from Bengal, he then submitted his accounts to the Imperial exchequer: they were immediately audited by the Vizier, and much credit given to him for his exertions. He was, in consequence, dignified by the Emperor with a dress of honour, standards, and kettle-drums; and reappointed to Bengal, as Dewan of the three provinces, and deputy Nazim to the Prince in the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. This circumstance gave great offence to Azeem Ooshan; but knowing the despotic temper of his grandfather, he could only repine in silence.

State of English affairs in Bengal, A. D. 1705-6.

In the year 1705-6, the union of the two East-India Companies having been nearly completed, the whole of the united property was deposited in Fort William; the garrison of which was augmented to the number of one hundred and thirty European soldiers; and a number of guns were mounted on the works. This display of strength does not appear to have given any offence to the Moghul government; but it inspired the native merchants with confidence, and induced many of them to go and settle in Calcutta; which, in consequence, had become a regular and populous town, and produced a considerable revenue; and being rendered

SECT. VI. A. D. 1706. independent of Madras, by the Company, rose highly in the estimation of the commercial world.

Such was the state of affairs in Bengal, when, the great age and bodily infirmities of the Emperor Aurungzebe* having given rise to many intrigues for the succession to the empire, Sultan Mohammed Aazim, who for a short time governed Bengal, and who, although only the second surviving son of Aurungzebe, openly laid claim to the throne, and was, in fact, the favourite and intended heir of his father, being jealous of the great wealth possessed by his nephew, the Prince Azeem Ooshan, and the power which the government of the eastern provinces threw into his hands, procured his recall; and that prince, a few months before the death of the Emperor, havin appointed his own son, Ferrokhsere, to be his representative in Bengal and Orissa, and Ser Balund Khan to be deputy-governor of Behar, proceeded towards Court.

Azeem Ooshan recalled.

Although the connection between Azeem Ooshan and the history of Bengal terminates with his departure from Patna; yet as the fate of that prince is not recorded in any regular history of India, it is presumed that an account of it will not be considered as uninteresting in this place.

Death of Aurungzebe, Feb. 21, 1707.

The Emperor Aurungzebe Aalumgeer departed this life on the 28th of Zykaad (11th month) of the year of the Hejira 1118, in his camp, in the vicinity of Ahmednagur†, aged ninety-one years and thirteen days; having verbally made

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* This monarch's title was properly *Aalumgeer* (Conqueror of the World); but as he is better known in Europe by the appellation he bore as prince, it is retained in this History.

† Taken by General Wellesley during the late Mahratta war. The Emperor was buried there, close to the tomb of a Saint named Zienal Abedeen.

a division of his empire amongst his three sons. To the eldest, Mohammed Muazim, he assigned the provinces of Cabul, Lahore, and Moultan; to the second, Mohammed Aazim (then called Aazim Shah), he gave the central parts of Hindoostan; and to the younger, Kam Bukhsh, the provinces of the South, or Dekkan. SECT. VI. A.D. 1707.

The day after the death of the Emperor, his second son, Aazim Shah, entered the Imperial camp, and took possession of the Royal tents and treasures; and as soon as the funereal rites were performed, he mounted the throne, and gave audience to all the nobility, and officers of the army. He confirmed all the ministers of the late reign in their appointments; and, shortly afterwards, commenced his march towards Dehly, in order to secure the capital against his elder brother. Aazim Shah mounts the throne of Hindoostan.

The Prince Azeem Ooshan, who had, by the Emperor's orders, left his government of Bengal to proceed to the presence, had taken the precaution to bring with him a considerable detachment of his best troops, and had reached the vicinity of Agra when he heard of his grandfather's decease; upon which event, he marched, with all expedition, to secure that city for his father, Mohammed Muazim, then known by the title of Shah Alum; but the Governor of the province of Agra, having united his daughter in marriage to the son of the prince Aazim Shah, resolved to oppose him; and in order to impede his progress, sunk all the boats in the river Jumna, and erected batteries at the neighbouring fords. His efforts were, however, unavailing; for Azeem Ooshan, having marched some distance up the banks of the river, crossed it, and, in a general engagement, defeated and took the Governor prisoner; by which event, although he could not obtain

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possession of the fort, he became master of the province, through which all the contending armies must pass. A short time after this event, having obtained intelligence that a convoy, with the year's revenue of Bengal, amounting to one crore of rupees (1,250,000*l.*) was advancing towards Agra, he sent off a detachment of cavalry, and succeeded in seizing it; which circumstance proved, in the sequel, of the greatest importance to the success of his father.

Azeem Ooshan, having, besides, brought with him the immense sum of nearly eight crores of rupees* from Bengal, immediately commenced levying troops; and upon the arrival of his father at Agra, mustered before him 30,000 well mounted cavalry†. Although Bakir Khan, the governor of the citadel of Agra, had refused to deliver it up to Azeem Ooshan, he did not hesitate a moment to send the keys to Shah Aalum, who, as the eldest son, he considered the legitimate heir to the empire.

The possession of that fortress was of the utmost consequence to Shah Aalum; as it not only afforded him a place of refuge for his family, but contained the whole of Shah Jehan's treasures, with warlike stores of every kind; by the means of which he speedily refitted his army, and advanced to meet his rival and brother, the prince Aazim Shah.

The contending armies met on the plains of Jajoo, not many miles distant from Agra; and as the command of the first line, which bore the brunt of the battle, was entrusted

* A crore is 100 lacs, or 10,000,000.

† It may not be unnecessary here to remark, that the soldiers, under the native Princes of India, furnished their own horses and arms; and that a number of them were always ready to join the standard of any person who could pay them.

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to Azeem Ooshan, much of the success of the day may be attributed to his exertions. The result was, the total defeat of Aazim Shah's army, and the death of himself and his two sons Bedar Bukht and Vala Jāh‡. This event occurred on the 11th of the month Rubby al Avul 1119.

Shah Aalum defeats his Brother; June 1707; and takes the title of Behadur Shah.

After this victory, Shah Aalum returned to Agra, and assumed the title of Behadur Shah; and, as a proof of his sense of the assistance he had received from his son Azeem Ooshan, re-appointed him Governor of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, to which was added the province of Allahabad; but as the Emperor was desirous of retaining him near his person, during the war against his own younger brother, Kam Bukhsh, he directed him to confirm Moorshud Cooly Jaffier Khan as his deputy in Bengal and Orissa; and to appoint such persons as he most esteemed, to be his deputies in the other provinces. This circumstance enabled the Prince handsomely to reward two noblemen who had been useful to him on various occasions, and had particularly distinguished themselves in the late engagement. These two persons were brothers, and boasted the honour of being descended from the Arabian Prophet. To the eldest, named Syed Abdullah Khan, he gave the government of Allahabad; and to the younger, Syed Hussein Aly Khan, that of Behar. After these arrangements, the Prince constantly attended at Court; and, by his abilities and suavity of manners, gained a great influence over the mind of his father.

Azeem Ooshan re-appointed Governor of the three provinces.

In the year 1124, the Emperor, who was then at Lahore, A.D. 1712.

‡ These events are recorded in the *Muntakhub al Lebab* of Khafy Khan, the *Sier Mutakhereen* of Syed Ghoolam Hussein, and *Memoirs* of the Moghul Empire, by Eradut Khan. For the latter work, which is the best, see *Scott's History of the Dekkan*, in which the description of this battle will amuse every military reader.

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was taken ill of a fever, which affected his brain, and rendered him totally incapable of business: and as his eldest son, Moizaddeen, had for some time declined coming to Court, on account of the preference which his father gave to Azeem Ooshan, all the affairs of the empire were, for some time, transacted by the Prince; which circumstance enabled him, upon the death of Behadur Shah, to take possession of the Royal treasure, jewels, and artillery, and to mount the throne. But having, by his pride and petulance, given offence to Zoolfecar Khan, the Ameer ul Omrah, and other officers, they took part with his three brothers*.

Death of Behadur Shah.

Contest between his sons for the empire.

At this time the whole of the Imperial army was encamped in the vicinity of Lahore: the Emperor's tents were upon one side of the river (Ravy), and those of Azeem Ooshan upon the opposite bank; but a constant communication was kept up between both, by means of boats: and as soon as the Emperor died, Azeem Ooshan took possession of the Imperial tents. The ground of encampment of the three other princes was between the Emperor's tents and the town.

Had Azeem Ooshan acted with promptitude, and immediately attacked his brothers, he would have probably been successful; but hoping that the army, finding he was in possession of the treasure and artillery, would flock to his standard, he resolved to remain on the defensive; and gave orders to have his camp entrenched.

While Azeem Ooshan thus flattered himself with an easy conquest, the three brothers, by the advice of the Ameer ul Omrah, drew several large pieces of artillery from the fort, and

* Their names were, Moizaddeen, Jehan Shah, and Ruffia Ooshan.

encamped their united forces in one line, making the city their defence to the rear.

In this situation affairs remained for four days; during which a heavy cannonade was kept up on both sides: but the advantage being manifestly on the part of the three brothers, and the troops of Azeem Ooshan beginning to desert, he found it requisite to alter his plan; and on the fifth morning marched from his camp, resolved to conquer, or to die.

As previous to this time most of his experienced generals had left him, the troops were drawn out without any proper arrangement; the artillery were placed in such a situation as to be perfectly useless, and were not supported by any body of regular troops. Kereem Addeen, the eldest son of the Prince, who was the nominal commander of the first line, remained in the reserve with his father; and none of the officers knew to whom they should apply for orders.

In the meantime the enemy advanced slowly, but in regular order, towards Azeem Ooshan, whose terrified troops began to disperse. The misguided, but truly brave Prince, when he saw his fortune thus adverse, (though he might have saved himself by quitting his elephant, and mounting a fleet horse, which would have carried him back to Bengal,) disdained the proposition, which had been suggested to him by Ameen Addowleh, one of his attached friends; and continuing to advance, although nearly abandoned by all his troops, his elephant driver was killed by a musquet shot; and the animal, having been severely wounded by a cannon-ball, became furious, and, rushing to the steep bank of the Ravy, precipitated himself and master into the stream. The dead body of the elephant was again found, but no trace of the Prince was

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ever discovered; and for a time it was hoped, by his friends, that he had escaped. Such is the account given, both in the Sier al Mutakhereen, and the Muntakhub al Lebab; but by Eradut Khan's statement, the body of Azeem Ooshan was found on the field of battle, covered with wounds, and delivered to his brothers. Mohammed Kereem, the eldest son of the Prince, was made prisoner, and put to death by order of his uncle, Moizaddeen, who had then assumed the title of Jehāndar Shah. These events occurred in the end of Suffer (second month) of the year 1124.

Azeem Ooshan killed, A. D. 1712.

Such was the catastrophe of the unfortunate Prince Azeem Ooshan, who for eleven years governed the provinces of Behar and Bengal with much tolerance and moderation; and which conduct, contrasted with that of his successor, places his character in a very favourable point of view. It may, however, be remarked, that the princes of the house of Timour have evinced in India a mildness of disposition not corresponding with the idea we have of Tartars; and that the epithet of "Cruel Despot" has not been applicable to any of that family: for although Aurungzebe was a bigot, and persecuted the Hindoos, it may be doubted whether he was naturally of a cruel disposition: at all events, his countrymen entirely acquit him on the score of the murder of his brothers, as an act of self-preservation: and it has been justly observed, by a native of India, "That Princes should not be judged of by the rules of common life*."

* See Mirza Abu Taleb's Travels.

## NUWAB MOORSHUD COOLY, MUTIMUN AL MOOLK, ALA ADDOWLEH, JAFFIER KHAN NESEERY, NASIR JUNG.

*Continuation of the history of Moorshud Cooly Jaffier Khan—On his return to Bengal, changes the name of Mukhsoosabad to Moorshudabad—The English obtain permission to establish a factory at Cossimbazar—The Nuwab appoints deputy Dewans of Bengal and Orissa—Establishes a new system of polity with respect to the Zemindars—Takes the land entirely out of their hands, and appoints his own collectors of the revenue—The Rajas of Bheerbhoom and Bishenpore exempted from these regulations—The Rajas of Tipperah and Couch Beyhar agree to pay tribute—The Nuwab revenges himself on Derp Narain, one of the Imperial Canoungoes—Promotes the son of the deceased—Represents to the Emperor the impolicy of the Foujedar of Hoogly being independent of his authority—Ordered to appoint an officer of his own to that office—Nominates Wullee Beg—The deposed Foujedar refuses to leave behind his Peishkar—A dispute takes place—Zyn Addeen is assisted by the French and Dutch—The Nuwab sends a force, under Dilput Sing, to establish his officer—An accidental shot kills Dilput Sing—The insurgents drive the Nuwab's troops into the town, and march off towards Dehly—The Nuwab, some time after, takes revenge on the Peishkar—Reduces the military establishment—Preserves great dignity in his Court—Impartial in his conduct, but prefers the Hindoos as men of business—One of his principal Collectors commits suicide—Various instances of the Nuwab's cruelty in enforcing the collections—Observes great regularity in remitting the revenues—Jealous of any interference with the subordinate appointments in Bengal—Shews great partiality to Sief Khan, Foujedar of Purneah—Neglects Aboo Turab, the Foujedar of Bhoosnah, who is in consequence murdered—The Nuwab inflicts severe punishment on the rebels—Account of the Prince Ferrokhsere—Applies to the Nuwab for assistance—is refused—quits Moorshudabad, and proceeds to Patna—His cause espoused by Syed Hussein Aly, the Governor of Behar, who writes to Abdullah Khan, Governor of Allahabad, and prevails upon him to join in the rebellion—Abdullah, in consequence, seizes upon*

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*the year's collections of Bengal, and levies troops—The Emperor supersedes Abdullah, and sends an army to dispossess him—The troops of Abdullah attack and defeat the Royal army—Ferrokhsere marches from Patna, and arrives at Allahabad, where he musters his army—Advances to Cudgwa—defeats the Royal army—proceeds towards Agra—engages the Imperial forces commanded by the Emperor in person—Hussein Aly Khan severely wounded in the engagement—Jehāndar Shah escapes to Dehly—is seized and confined by Assud ad Dowlah, the Vizier—Ferrokhsere proclaimed Emperor—proceeds to Dehly—causes Jehāndar Shah to be put to death—takes possession of the kingdom.—Affairs of Bengal resumed—Rasheed Khan, a favourite of the Prince, attempts to seize on the province of Bengal—Moorshud Cooly opposes, defeats, and kills Rasheed Khan—Confirmed in his government—Appoints his grandson deputy Dewan of Bengal—Sets aside the privileges of the English—They send an embassy to Dehly, to complain of his conduct—Proceedings of the embassy—Obtains various Firmāns from the Emperor—Returns to Calcutta—The Nuwab refuses to comply with some of the articles of the Emperor's firmān, and disputes with the English on the meaning of some of the other clauses—The English affairs prosperous—The Nuwab obtains the Government of Behar, in addition to that of Bengal and Orissa—Death of Ferrokhsere—Moorshud Cooly confirmed in his government by the Emperor Mohammed Shah—Two of the Zemindars of Bengal raise an insurrection—are seized, and confined for life—Anecdotes of the severity of Moorshud Cooly Khan—His justice, religion, charity, police, loyalty, abstemiousness, learning, impartiality—Specimen of Mohammedan bigotry—The Nuwab orders his tomb to be built—Endeavours to secure the succession for his grandson, Ser Afraz Khan—Opposed by his Son-in-law, and the Ameer al Omrah, Khan Dowran—The Nuwab appoints his grandson his heir and successor—Dies—His son-in-law, Shujaa Addeen Khan, takes possession of the government.*

It was thought proper, in the foregoing chapter, not to interrupt the narrative of events; but to accompany the prince Azeem Ooshan to the end of his career.—We now return to the affairs of Bengal.

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A. D. 1703-4.

It has been mentioned, in page 359, that Moorshud Cooly Khan, the Dewan, having waited upon the Emperor Aurungzebe, at his camp in the Dekkan, had been most graciously received by that monarch; and, in reward for his services, had been re-appointed Dewan of Bengal and Orissa, in his own right; and Deputy Nazim or governor of the two provinces, on the part of the Prince Azeem Ooshan. He was also honoured with the lofty titles of Nuwab Moorshud Cooly, Mutimun al Moolk, Ala Addowleh, Jaffier Khan Neseery, Nasir Jung.

The first act of the Nuwab, on his return to Bengal, was to change the name of the city of Mukhsoosabad to Moorshudabad; and, by establishing in it the mint, and by erecting a palace and other public offices of government, to render it the capital of the province.

A. D. 1706.

We accordingly find, that, in the year 1118, the English East-India Company was induced to pay him 25,000 rupees, for permission to establish a factory at Cossimbazar, in the vicinity of the new city, for the convenience of having the bullion, which they sent from Europe, coined into rupees at the mint.

In this year, also, the departure of the Prince Azeem Ooshan from Behar threw the whole of the authority into the hands of the Nuwab, and gave him the unlimited controul over the three provinces: for although the Prince appointed his son, Ferrokhsere (afterwards Emperor), to be his representative in Bengal, it does not appear that he was authorized to do so by the Emperor; and the Dewan paid little attention to his nomination.

When, after the succession of Behadur Shah, he was

SECT. VI. A. D. 1706. confirmed in the appointment of Deputy Nazim, by which the offices of Dewan and Nazim (which from the reign of Akbar had been separated) were now, by the absence of the Prince, united in his person, he appointed Syed Ikram Khan to be his deputy Dewan over the province of Bengal; and his son-in-law, Shujaa Addeen Mohammed Khan, to be his deputy Dewan in Orissa: he at the same time appointed Bhooput Roy, and Keisor Roy, two Brahmens, probably relations of his own, to confidential situations; the first, secretary to the treasury; and the latter his private secretary. He also annexed the district of Midnapore to Bengal, although it had always before constituted a part of Orissa.

He now commenced to put in practice a system of the greatest oppression upon the zemindars, or Hindoo landholders; which, although it much augmented the revenue of the state, rendered his name dreaded and detested throughout the provinces.

In order to make a full investigation of the value of the lands, he placed the principal zemindars in close confinement, and gave the collection into the hands of expert Aumils, or collectors, who received the assessments from the farmers, and A. D. 1707-8. paid the amount into the public treasury. He also ordered the whole of the lands to be re-measured; and having ascertained the quantity of fallow and waste ground belonging to every village, he caused a considerable proportion of it to be brought into cultivation; for which purpose the collectors were authorized to make advances of money to the lower order of husbandmen, to purchase stock, and to reimburse themselves by a certain portion of the produce.

When he had thus entirely dispossessed the zemindars of

all interference in the collection, he assigned to them an allowance, either in land or money, for the subsistence of their families, called *nankar;* to which was added the privilege of hunting, of cutting wood in the forests, and of fishing in the lakes and rivers: these immunities are called *bunkar* and *julkar**.

The only persons who were exempted from these despotic regulations were the zemindars of Bheerbhoom and Bishenpore. The first was a popular and virtuous character, named Asud Allah, whose ancestors had been Hindoos, but who had abandoned the worship of idols, and embraced the Mohammedan faith. This person dedicated half his income to charitable purposes, either in supporting the religious and learned, or in relieving the distresses of the poor and needy: he was besides attentive to all the duties of his religion, and deviated not from the ordinances of the law. To have attacked such a character would have exposed the Nuwab to great opprobrium, and would have incited against him the popular clamour; and possibly would have injured him in the esteem of every devout Mussulman.

The other zemindar owed his security to the nature of his country, which was full of woods, and adjoining to the mountains of Jarcund, whither, upon any invasion of the district, he retired to places inaccessible to his pursuers, and annoyed them severely in their retreat: the country was besides unproductive; and the expenses of collection, and of maintaining it, would have exceeded the amount of the revenue.

These two zemindars, therefore, having refused the summons to attend at the Court of Moorshubadab, were permitted

* The literal meaning of these three words is, The business of Bread, Wood, and Water.

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to remain on their own estates, on condition of regularly remitting their assessment, through an agent stationed at Moorshudabad.

The Rajas of Tipperah, Couch Beyhar, and Assam, whose countries, although they had been overrun by the Mohammedan arms, had never been perfectly subdued, and who therefore continued to spread the umbrella of independence, and to stamp the coin in their own names, were so impressed with the idea of the power and abilities of Moorshud Cooly Khan, that they forwarded to him valuable presents, consisting of elephants, wrought and unwrought ivory, musk, amber, and various other articles, in token of their submission: in return for which, the Nuwab sent them *khelaats*, or honorary dresses, by the receipt and putting on of which they acknowledged his superiority. This interchange of presents and compliments became an annual custom during the whole time of his government, without either party attempting to recede from, or advance beyond, the implied line of conduct.

Moorshud Cooly devoted two days in the week to the administration of justice, presiding in person in court: and so impartial was he in his decisions, and so rigid in the execution of the sentence of the law, that he put his own son to death for an infraction of its regulations; and his decisions thereby became celebrated throughout Hindoostan. This, however, must be considered as respecting Mohammedans; for in the collection of the revenues he allowed his officers to be guilty of great cruelty and oppression; and wherever any person opposed his will, he marked him as the victim of his revenge.

It has been before mentioned, that, when he wished to lay his accounts in person before the Emperor, Derp Narain,

one of the chief Canoungoes, had refused to audit them by his signature. This circumstance rankled in the mind of Moorshud Cooly; but as the Canoungoe held his appointment independently of the Governor, and was only accountable to the Imperial exchequer for his conduct, the latter durst not make any open attack against him, without incurring the displeasure of the Emperor. He therefore treated him, for several years, with great respect and attention; and consulted him upon all business regarding the revenue.

This behaviour gained the friendship of Derp Narain, and lulled him into fatal security; for upon the death of Bhooput Roy, the Peishkari Khalsah, first clerk of the treasury, and who, in fact, managed all the business of that office, he was prevailed upon, by the Nuwab, to undertake that employment.

Whilst in this dangerous situation, Moorshud Cooly narrowly watched all his actions, hoping, that by having thus extended his authority, he might be guilty of some misconduct, which should place him totally in his power. But Derp Narain, having a thorough knowledge of the business, and being well acquainted with every particular regarding the revenues of Bengal, and only anxious to recommend himself by the faithful discharge of his duty, by the most minute investigation, and by the reduction of expenses, increased the revenue from one crore and thirty lacks, (1,300,000*l.*) to one crore and fifty lacks of rupees, (1,500,000*l.*) which he caused to be actually paid into the public treasury; but, in so doing, he curtailed the allowances granted to the zemindars, and infringed upon the emoluments of people in office, which rendered him very unpopular, and gave the Nuwab an opportunity of accusing him of malversation in his office: and,

SECT. VI. under pretence of scrutinizing his accounts, he kept him in close confinement, and deprived him of all the enjoyments of life; which severity so affected the health and spirits of Derp Narain, that he fell into a decline, and in a short time died. But as the Nuwab was suspected of having accelerated the fate of his prisoner, he attempted to efface that impression by his kindness to the son of the deceased; for whom he obtained, from the Emperor, his father's office of Canoungoe, with an addition of one fourth of the emoluments of the other Canoungoe; who, in consequence of his having signed Moorshud Cooly's accounts when Derp Narain refused his signature, expected to have had his salary increased, instead of being diminished.

For some years previous to the accession of Moorshud Cooly to the Dewanship of Bengal, the office of Foujedar, or Governor of the port of Hoogly, had been rendered independent both of the Dewan and of the Nazim of the province; but as soon as he had united both offices in his own person, he represented to the Emperor, Behadur Shah, the absurd policy of an *imperium in imperio*, or mixed authority in government; and requested that the Governor of Hoogly might be subjected to his orders, and rendered accountable to him for his conduct. The Emperor immediately saw the force of his argument; and Moorshud Cooly was permitted to appoint an officer in his own confidence to the superintendence of that town.

The person whom he selected for this purpose was a Moghul, named Wullee Beg; upon whose arrival at Hoogly, Zyn Addeen, the deposed Foujedar, encamped, with his retinue and dependants, outside of the town, intending, as soon as he had

delivered over the charge of his office, to proceed quietly to Court: but Wullee Beg, having demanded that Kinker Sein, the Peishkar or head clerk, should remain behind till the accounts were examined, the late Foujedar resisted the demand; and both parties appealed to arms. Zyn Addeen, having ingratiated himself with the Dutch at Chinsura, and the French at Chandernagore, was supported by them; and Wullee Beg, having applied for succour to the Nuwab, was in a short time reinforced by a considerable detachment, both of infantry and cavalry, under the command of a Hindoo officer, named Dilput Sing.

Both parties encamped in the vicinity of Chandernagore, and threw up entrenchments in front of their camps, which were distant a mile from each other; and although the Nuwab had, on the commencement of the disturbance, sent positive orders to all the European settlements not to interfere in the quarrel, nevertheless, both the French and Dutch continued to assist Zyn Addeen, and supplied him with an excellent train of artillery.

After a considerable time had elapsed in this state of inactivity, and each party was endeavouring to circumvent the other by stratagem, the deposed Governor sent an agent to Dilput Sing, the Nuwab's General, to negociate terms of peace; and previous to his departure, as a mark of his special favour, he threw over the shoulders of the agent a large scarlet shawl, which rendered him very conspicuous at a distance.

It happened that when the agent entered the opposite camp, Dilput Sing was employed in viewing the ramparts of his entrenchment; and directed that the agent might be

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brought thither. He accordingly came; and while they two were standing conversing, on the top of the rampart, a French gunner discharged a cannon from one of the advanced batteries, the ball of which struck Dilput Sing, and tore him to pieces, without injuring the agent in the smallest degree.

Although the circumstance was probably accidental, it was considered as premeditated: much merit was assigned to the author of the contrivance, and a handsome reward given to the European for his dexterity. Whether intentional or accidental, it had the effect, however, of throwing the Nuwab's army into great confusion; of which Zyn Addeen taking advantage, attacked and drove them into the town of Hoogly: after which he, quietly and unmolested, proceeded with his deputy and retinue to Dehly, where he died a short time after his arrival, without any notice having been taken, by the Ministers, of the transaction.

After the death of his patron, Kinker Sein returned from Dehly to Moorshudabad; and, without betraying any signs of fear, waited upon the Nuwab; who, with his usual policy, apparently forgave him, and appointed him collector of the revenue of the district of Hoogly, but at the end of the year, when he came to settle his accounts at Moorshudabad, confined him, on pretence of malversation, and ordered him to be fed on buffaloe's milk mixed with salt, which occasioning a disorder in his bowels, he in a short time died.

Moorshud Cooly Khan continued to make the collections through his Aumils, by displacing the zemindars; with a few exceptions, where he found the latter worthy of trust and confidence. He admitted no charges for troops, but those paid and mustered by himself. Two thousand cavalry, and four thousand

infantry, under the command of Nazir Ahmed, who had been originally a private soldier, were found sufficient to enforce the payment of all the revenues of Bengal: for so severe were his regulations, and such the dread of his power and resolution, that his commands were implicitly obeyed; and it was sufficient for him to send a single messenger, to sequester a zemindary, or to seize on a culprit at the greatest distance.

Such were the respect and dignity kept up by the Governor at his court, that, in his presence, no person was allowed to salute or speak to another; nor were any of his officers or Rajas allowed to sit before him.

He prohibited the zemindars, and other Hindoos of opulence, from riding in palanquins, obliging them to make use of an inferior kind of conveyance, called a Dooly, or Chowpalch. Whoever deviated, in the smallest degree, from his general regulations was certain to experience the effects of his resentment.

In the affairs of government, he shewed favour to no one; and always rewarded merit wherever he found it. He employed none but Bengally Hindoos in the collection of the revenues, because they were most easily compelled, by threats or punishment, to disclose their mal-practices and their confederates; and their pusillanimity secured him from any insurrection or combination against the State. In the few instances in which he found that they had defrauded him, or had made away with the revenue, and were unable to make good the deficiency, he compelled the offender, with his wife and children, to become Mohammedans.

Raja Oudynarain, whose family had long enjoyed the zemindary of the district of Rajeshahy, was so distinguished

SECT. VI. by his abilities and application, that the Nuwab entrusted him with the superintendence of the greater portion of the collections, and placed under his orders Gholaum Mohammed Jemmadar, with two hundred horse, who in a short time became a great favourite of his principal; but in consequence of his pay having been kept back for many months, the Jemmadar's people mutinied, and the Nuwab, without inquiring minutely into the matter, ordered a chosen detachment to quell the disturbance. A conflict ensued in the vicinity of the Raja's house, in which the Jemmadar was killed, and many of his people put to death. This circumstance so hurt and terrified Oudynarain, that he put an end to his own existence.

The zemindary of Rajeshahy was, in consequence, taken away from the family, and conferred on Ramjewun and Kanoo Kenoor, two zemindars who resided on the eastern side of the river, in consideration of their having been more punctual in the payment of their rents than the other zemindars of Bengal.

The Nuwab, however, never placed confidence in any man; he himself examined the accounts of the exchequer every day; and if he discovered any of the zemindars, or others, remiss in their payment, he placed either the principal or his agent in arrest, with a guard over him, to prevent his either eating or drinking till the business was settled: and, in order to prevent the guards from being bribed, or negligent in their duty, he placed spies over them, who informed him of the smallest deviation from his orders.

A principal instrument of the Nuwab's severity was Nazir Ahmed, to whom, when a district was in arrear, he used to deliver over the captive zemindar, to be tormented by every

species of cruelty; as hanging up by the feet; bastinadoing; setting them in the sun in summer; and by stripping them naked, and sprinkling them frequently with cold water, in winter.

But all these acts of severity were but trifles, compared with the wanton and cruel conduct of Syed Reza Khan, who was married to Nuffisah Begum, the granddaughter of the Nuwab, and who, upon the death of Syed Ikram Khan, had been appointed deputy Dewan of the province. In order to enforce the payment of the revenues, he ordered a pond to be dug, which was filled with every thing disgusting; and the stench of which was so offensive, as nearly to suffocate whoever approached it: to this shocking place, in contempt of the Hindoos, he gave the name of *Bickoont*, which, in their language, means *Paradise*; and, after the zemindars had undergone the usual punishments, if their rent was not forthcoming, he caused them to be drawn, by a rope tied under the arms, through this infernal pond. He is also stated to have compelled them to put on loose trowsers, into which were introduced live cats. By such cruel and horrid methods he extorted from the unhappy zemindars every thing they possessed, and made them weary of their lives.

The collections of the preceding year were always completed by the end of Cheyt (the first month of the new year); and in the beginning of Bysack (the second month) the Nuwab generally despatched to Dehly the royal revenue, amounting from one crore and thirty lacs to one crore and fifty lacs of rupees, (1,500,000*l.*) the greater part in specie. The boxes of treasure were laden upon two hundred or more carts, drawn by bullocks, and escorted by a guard of 500

SECT. VI. cavalry and 500 infantry, accompanied by one of the sub-treasurers. Along with the revenue, he sent, as presents to the Emperor and Ministers, a number of elephants, Hill horses; antelopes, hawks, shields made of rhinoceros hides, sword-blades, Sylhet mats, filigree work of gold and silver, wrought ivory, Dacca muslins, and Cossimbazar silks; also a number of European articles procured at the Royal port of Hoogly.

The Nuwab, attended by his principal officers, accompanied the convoy some miles from Moorshudabad: and in order to take off any further responsibility from himself, independent of his own despatches to the Vizier, he had the event recorded in the Royal Gazettes, by which all the Governors on the route were apprized of the circumstance, and were obliged, by the regulations, to have carts and an escort ready to forward the treasure to the capital;—those of Bengal being relieved at Patna, and those of the latter place at Allahabad; the convoy, and its value, frequently increasing as it went on, by the collections of each province.

By such conduct, Moorshud Cooly Khan conciliated the favour of the Minister and of the Emperor; and the appointments in Bengal were made chiefly at his recommendation: but if, through any other interest, a person procured the nomination to an office in that province, every means was taken to thwart him, and to render his situation so unpleasant, as to induce him quickly to resign it. In proof of the former fact, it is stated, that Sief Khan, the grandson of the celebrated Amyr Khan, having been appointed to Bengal at the recommendation of the Governor, was, upon his arrival, received in the most gracious manner, and appointed Foujedar of Purneah, with absolute power over that district, and with

permission to conquer from the Raja of Morung as much territory as he pleased, without any increase of revenue to the State: it is also said, that the Nuwab offered him his granddaughter, Nuffisah Begum, in marriage; but that Sief Khan, being of an illustrious family, declined the connection; and she was therefore united to Syed Reza.

Shortly after Sief Khan had taken possession of his office, he expelled Beer Sāh, the zemindar of Beernagur, who ventured to oppose his will; after which, he imprisoned all the other zemindars of Purneah, and collected annually from that district eighteen lacs of rupees, the surplus of which, above the former revenue of ten or eleven lacs, he appropriated to his own use. He also considerably extended his boundary, by bringing into cultivation certain waste lands lying between Purneah and Morung as neutral ground, but to which the Raja of Morung, intimidated by Sief Khan's power, gave up his claim.

All these circumstances were well known to the Nuwab: yet having a great friendship for Sief Khan, he did not interfere; but annually invited him to spend some time with him at Moorshudabad, where he used to rally his guest on the peculiarities in his character, particularly on his mode of paying his troops, which was by giving half the amount in goods either plundered, sequestered, or purchased at a cheap rate, and the remainder in money; also for his manner of rewarding his companions and favourites, by giving them his cast-off concubines, on which account he conferred on him the title of Zen Bukhsh, *The Bestower of Women**.

* Zer Bukhsh, "Bestower of Gold," is a common appellation for a liberal man.

SECT. VI. In evidence of the other assertion, it is related, that a person of an illustrious family, named Syed Aboo Turab, having, through the interest of one of the Viziers, obtained the office of Foujedar of Bhoosnah in Bengal, adjacent to which resided a refractory zemindar, named Sittaram, who kept in his pay a band of robbers, with whom he used to infest the roads and plunder the boats on the rivers, and even carry off the cattle from the villages, setting at defiance the power of the Foujedar;—to extirpate this public depredator, Aboo Turab applied for assistance to the Nuwab; but, instead of affording him the required aid, he was supposed; in an underhand manner, to countenance and encourage Sittaram.

At length the Foujedar, finding he had nothing to expect from the Governor, took into his own pay an Afghan officer, named Peer Khan, with 200 of his followers, well mounted and armed, and sent him to beat up the quarters of the depredator; but Sittaram, having intelligence of the circumstance, moved to another part of the country, where by chance he fell in with the Foujedar, who was amusing himself in hunting, and attended by a very small escort. The robbers immediately attacked the Foujedar and his party, and, before their chief came up, killed Aboo Turab. When Sittaram found that it was the Foujedar he had slain, he much regretted the circumstance, and told his followers that the Nuwab would certainly revenge the insult offered to his government, by flaying them alive, and by desolating the pergunneh of Mahmoodabad: he then respectfully delivered the body to the Foujedar's attendants, who carried it to Bhoosnah, and interred it in the vicinity of that town.

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When the Nuwab received intelligence of the murder of Aboo Turab, he was greatly alarmed, being apprehensive of having incurred the displeasure of the Emperor by his neglect of so respectable a person; and whom he knew had many friends about the Court, who would not fail to represent the state of the case. He therefore appointed Bukhsh Aly Khan to succeed the deceased; and sent with him a considerable force, with instructions to seize Sittaram and all his party. Orders were also issued to all the neighbouring zemindars, to assist in seizing the offender; and they were informed, that if he was allowed to make his escape through any of their districts, they should be expelled from their lands, and suffer other grievous punishments. These orders had an instantaneous effect; the zemindars raised their *posse comitatus*, and hemmed the robbers in on every side, until Bukhsh Aly Khan arrived, who seized Sittaram, his women, children, and accomplices, and sent them in irons to Moorshudabad, where Sittaram and the robbers were impaled alive, and the women and children sold as slaves. These proceedings were entered in the public records; and the Governor wrote a particular representation of all the circumstances to the Emperor, placing his own conduct in the most favourable point of view.

From the disgusting detail of such transactions, we now turn to a more dignified subject.

Account of the Prince Ferrokhsere.

In the history of the Prince Azeem Ooshan, it was stated, that, upon his being summoned to Court, in the year of the Hejira 1118, he left his second son, Ferrokhsere, to be his agent in Bengal and Orissa. That Prince continued to reside for some time at Dacca; but after the demise of Aurungzebe, and the accession of his grandfather, Behadur Shah, to the

SECT. VI. throne, A.H. 1119, he removed to Moorshudabad, and took up his residence at the palace called the Lall Bāg, in that city, where he lived upon terms of much cordiality with Moorshud Cooly Khan, not interfering at all with the government; the whole management of which had been placed, by Behadur Shah's desire, in the hands of the Nuwab.

A.D. 1712. Upon the death of Behadur Shah, and the accession of the worthless Jehandar Shah, A.H. 1124, the Prince applied to Moorshud Cooly Khan to assist him in avenging the death of his father, and in his views upon the empire: but the Nuwab positively refused him, declaring that no consideration should make him depart from his duty to Jehandar Shah, whom he now considered as his lawful sovereign; but in a friendly manner advised the Prince immediately to quit Moorshudabad, lest an order should arrive for his being seized and sent prisoner to Dehly.

Ferrokhsere did not press the Nuwab any further; but, setting out with his family and a few attendants, took the route of Patna, hoping to obtain some assistance from Syed Hussein Aly Khan, who had been appointed Governor of Behar by his father*; and on his way was joined by a few of the adherents of his family, from Dacca.

Upon his arrival at Patna, instead of entering the city, he took up his residence in a caravanserai, near Jaffier Khan's gardens; whence he sent a respectful and doleful message to Hussein Aly, stating his deplorable situation; reminding him of the favours conferred on him by Azeem Ooshan, and entreating him to protect and support him. The Governor was

* See page 363.

much alarmed and distressed by this message: he was bound, by every tie of gratitude, to the family of Azeem Ooshan; but dreaded the power of Jehandar Shah, who seemed to be supported by the principal nobility, and securely fixed on the throne. He therefore returned a polite, but cold answer, to Ferrokhsere, expressive of his respect for the memory of the Prince's father, but lamenting his inability to be of any service to him; and conjuring him to depart from Behar immediately, otherwise he should be under the necessity of seizing him, conformably to the orders which he had received from Court. The Prince, however, not discouraged by this refusal, again solicited, that if he could not assist him, he would at least favour him with a visit, and advise him how he should act in the critical situation in which he was placed.

Hussein Aly Khan could not refuse such a request from the son of his patron: he therefore went privately to pay his respects to the Prince; and was introduced into the same tent where the females of the family were, and who were only concealed from view by a screen. He was received by the Prince in the most gracious and conciliating manner possible, and clothed in one of his Highness's superb dresses; after which they entered into a long conversation on the state of public affairs, in which Ferrokhsere represented, that the fate of his elder brother and the other princes, who had been put to death in cold blood, subsequent to the battle at Lahore, convinced him that he had nothing to expect from his uncle, Jehandar Shah, but death, or a lingering and wretched imprisonment: he therefore conjured Hussein Aly to support his cause; and if they succeeded, he should share the empire with him. The Governor still remaining unmoved by these

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entreaties, Mileki Zeman, the daughter of the Prince, who had been tutored for the occasion, came from behind the screen, and, falling at his feet, besought him to have compassion on her father and his wretched family: she reminded him of the obligations he was under to her grandfather; and called on him, in the name of his ancestor, the Prophet Mohammed, who had commanded his followers "Never to forget benefits conferred," not to forsake them in their distress; and desired him to reflect on what posterity would say of his ingratitude and unmanly conduct, should he now abandon them, and, without an exertion, let them fall into the hands of their enemies. Before she had finished her speech, she was joined by the widow of Azeem Ooshan*; whilst the other ladies, from behind the curtain, combined their entreaties to prevail upon him; and from sobs and tears proceeded to screams and lamentations. The Governor could no longer resist such a scene; and, yielding to their supplications, said, "All I have to offer is my life; and I now devote it to your service." The Prince then presented him his own sword, and swore never to prove ungrateful for his kindness. The Governor, immediately after, returned home, and wrote all the circumstances to his elder brother, Syed Abdullah Khan, the governor of Allahabad, who also owed his elevation to Azeem Ooshan†.

The following day, the Prince Ferrokhsere was introduced

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* The daughter of the Prince being a child, and his mother advanced in years, their appearing before a stranger, and especially a Syed, was not considered as any great departure from etiquette. Had the other ladies come forward, it would have been considered as derogating from the Prince's honour, which even the existing circumstances would not have warranted.

† This narrative is taken from the *Sier al Mutakhereen*. The circumstance is differently related by the author of the *Muntekhub al Lebab*; but I prefer this account.

into Patna with great pomp; and, upon his alighting at the palace, was placed by the Governor on the musnud, and saluted as Emperor of Hindoostan: a proclamation was also issued, and letters written to various parts of the country, inviting all officers and soldiers to join his Majesty's standard. SECT. VI. A. D. 1712.

When Syed Abdullah Khan received his brother's letter, he was overwhelmed with astonishment; for besides the perils in which they were thus plunged, their wives and children were at Dehly, and consequently in the power of their enemies: but such was his affection for his brother, that he resolved to run all risks, and to rise or fall with him. He therefore commenced making military preparations: and as the convoy, with the year's collections of Bengal, had just arrived at Allahabad, under the charge of Shujaa Addeen Khan, the son-in-law of the Nuwab of Bengal, he seized the treasure for Ferrokhsere's use. This was a most fortunate event, both for the Prince and the brothers, as it enabled them not only to pay the arrears due to their own troops, but to recruit their army.

In the meantime, Hussein Aly, by his influence in Patna, borrowed a large sum of money from the bankers; and procured from the merchants all the materials requisite for the outfit of his army, without any other security than the Prince's bonds, payable, with a heavy interest, as soon as he should be fixed on the throne. Whilst the two brothers were thus actively employed in preparing to take the field, the Emperor was informed, by his spies, of all their transactions; and immediately superseded Abdullah Khan in his government; sending at the same time an active officer, named Syed Abdalghoffar, with 12,000 horse, to dispossess him.

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Abdullah Khan, unable to oppose such a force in the field, took refuge in the fort of Allahabad; but encamped his troops, consisting of less than seven thousand cavalry and infantry, under the command of his three younger brothers, for the convenience of water and forage, at some miles' distance from the fort: of which circumstance the Imperial General having obtained intelligence, by a forced march got between them and the fort; and sent a taunting message to the Governor, that not wishing to play with children, he had left them behind him, being desirous of trying his, the Governor's, skill in the game of war. This message having been reported to the young men, inflamed them with rage; they immediately attacked the rear of the Imperial army; and, after a hard-fought battle, completely routed them; not, however, without the loss of a number of their own men, and that of one of their generals, Noor Addeen Khan, the favourite brother of the Governor.

This event caused much alarm at Dehly: and the Emperor, in hopes of detaching Abdullah Khan from the confederacy, meanly condescended to say, that he never had any intention of superseding him; and sent him a new commission for the government of Allahabad, which was accompanied by an honorary dress of the most splendid kind.

In the meantime, the Prince Ferrokhsere having arrived at Benaras, was enabled to borrow a large sum of money from the bankers of that city, on the same terms on which the loan had been negotiated at Patna; and, proceeding by easy marches, daily augmented his army by fresh levies, and was joined by several officers of distinction, who had taken disgust at the conduct of Jehandar Shah and his ministers; so that, on his

crossing the Ganges at Allahabad, and after his junction with Abdullah Khan, he mustered an army of 25,000 cavalry, and an excellent train of artillery. SECT. VI. A. D. 1712.

The Prince soon after advanced to Cudgwa*, attended by the two brothers, Syed Hussein Aly and Abdullah Khan, with all their friends and partisans; and on the 29th of the month Showal, A. H. 1124, defeated Aizaddeen, the eldest son of Jehandar Shah, and got possession of all his artillery and camp equipage. In consequence of this victory, many of the Imperial troops joined the standard of Ferrokhsere; and Abdullah Khan, who directed all the military movements, halted some days on the field of battle, to carry on his negotiations with several of the Omrahs, who were disgusted with Jehandar Shah and his infamous government. November, A. D. 1712.

The pusillanimous Emperor, having at length taken the field, the contending armies, on the 14th of Zilhije 1124, met in the vicinity of Agra; and after a confused battle, which lasted nearly the whole day, the Imperial army was completely routed; and the Emperor, accompanied by his mistress, Lāll Coar, fled upon his elephant to Agra; where, having changed his dress, and shaved his head and beard in the manner of the Hindoos, he, in the middle of the night, continued his flight towards Dehly. Upon his arrival in that city, instead of going to the fort, he stopt at the house of the Vizier Assud ad Dowlah, who had been left in charge of the capital. This circumstance was shortly known throughout the town; upon which the friends of Ferrokhsere surrounded the house, and demanded that the Royal fugitive should be delivered into The Royal army defeated by Prince Ferrokhsere, Jan. 1713.

* The place where the battle was fought between Shujaa and Aurungzebe.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1713. their hands. In order to suppress their clamours, the Vizier agreed to confine the Emperor; and making a virtue of necessity, he wrote a petition to Ferrokhsere, informing him, that he had imprisoned Jehandar Shah in his own house, and waited the Imperial orders concerning his disposal. In return, orders were despatched, applauding his conduct, and assuring him of the Royal favour.

During the late engagement, although fortune, in its termination, had favoured the cause of Ferrokhsere, yet that division of the army which had been placed under the command of his friend and principal support, Hussein Aly Khan, having been opposed to Zoolfecar Khan, the Ameer al Omrah, and his Tartar troops, was worsted, and their chief left for dead on the field: and as Zoolfecar Khan* continued to keep possession of the ground till it was dark, the body of Hussein Aly was not discovered till near midnight; and when found, was in a state of insensibility, and scarcely a spark of life remaining. On receiving some assistance, he so far recovered his senses, as to learn with pleasure the success of his party; nevertheless, it was with much difficulty that he could be placed in a palanquin, and conveyed to his brother; who, on seeing him still alive, prostrated himself on the ground, and returned thanks to God for so signal a favour: he afterwards took off the valuable jewels which he wore, and presented them to the man who had first discovered the body.

Ferrokhsere encamped that night on the field of battle; and

* This officer was the son of Assud ad Dowlah, the Vizier: at the desire of his father, he yielded himself up a prisoner, and trusted to the clemency of the Prince; but, as he had been the principal cause of the defeat and death of the father of Ferrokhsere, he had no reason to hope for pardon, and suffered accordingly.

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next morning, being the 15th of the month Zilhije 1124, he mounted the throne of Hindoostan, and gave public audience to all the people. On this occasion were introduced to him a number of the Omrahs, who, in consequence of the negotiations of Abdullah Khan, had either remained neuter during the engagement, or had come over to the victorious side. After the inauguration of the Emperor, he proceeded to Sekundra, to offer up his devotions at the tomb of his illustrious ancestor, Akbar; and at noon returned to Agra, where he received the compliments of all the inhabitants of that city.

Ferrokhsere proclaimed Emperor, January, A. D. 1713.

The next day the Emperor proceeded towards Dehly; and, on his arrival in its vicinity, encamped outside the walls, and commanded the Vizier, Assud ad Dowlah, and his son, Zoolfecar Khan, to be brought to his presence. They were both received with the honours due to their high rank; after which, the former was allowed to return to his home: but the latter was led to a private tent; and after a few questions had been asked him, he was strangled, as a punishment for his crimes. His body was afterwards tied, with the head downwards, on an elephant, together with the body of Jehandar Shah, who had been put to death in prison; and they were thus exposed in the new Emperor's train, when he made his triumphal entry to the palace of the capital†.

Causes Jehandar Shah to be put to death.

Having thus conducted Ferrokhsere to the perilous pinnacle of his ambition, whence in a few years he was to be precipitated into the abyss of destruction, we now return to the affairs of Bengal.

† For the remaining history of Ferrokhsere, see Scott's valuable *History of the Dekkan*, second Volume.

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When Ferrokhsere assumed the Imperial titles at Patna, he was persuaded by one of his dependants, named Rasheed Khan, to appoint him Governor of Bengal: and knowing that Moorshud Cooly Khan did not keep up more troops than those employed in the collection of the revenues, he was in hopes that Rasheed Khan might, by an expeditious march, completely surprise the Nuwab and, without difficulty get possession of the province, which would serve as a place of refuge, should he be disappointed in his views on the empire. The matter was therefore kept a profound secret till the Prince commenced his march from Patna; when Rasheed Khan, instead of accompanying him, took the route of Moorshudabad; and before the Nuwab was aware of his intentions, had entered the passes of Terriagurhy and Sicklygully. The Nuwab, not at all intimidated by the circumstance, ordered his corps of 2000 cavalry to encamp outside the city; and, having joined to them as many of his infantry as he could collect, with a few guns, waited the approach of the enemy. When they had arrived within a few miles of Moorshudabad, he gave the command of his troops to two officers, named Meer Bengally and Syed Anwar, and ordered them to oppose Rasheed Khan: an engagement ensued, in which Syed Anwar was killed, and Meer Bengally compelled to retreat: the Nuwab, however, who was a stanch predestinarian, was not at all dismayed by the event; but collecting the palace-guards, and a few other troops, proceeded, on his elephant, to the assistance of his retreating army: his presence gave vigour to the troops; they returned to the attack; and an arrow, from the hand of Meer Bengally, having pierced Rasheed Khan, he fell from his horse: his army was, in consequence, totally

routed, and many of them taken prisoners. The Nuwab returned in triumph to the city; and gave orders that a pyramid should be immediately erected on the road to Dehly, with niches to contain the heads of Rasheed Khan and all his followers that were slain in the battle, that it might remain a monument of his victory. A. D. 1712.

But as soon as Ferrokhsere was firmly established on the throne, Moorshud Cooly prepared the usual presents, and sent them to Court, with the amount of the year's collections, with the same punctuality as he had hitherto done: and the new Emperor, being either engaged with more interesting concerns, or considering Moorshud Cooly as an unambitious and useful servant, conferred on him the united offices of Nazim and Dewan; the former of which he had hitherto only held as deputy; and, at his recommendation, appointed the nephew of Manickchund to be the Imperial treasurer, or banker, with the title of Juggeet Seat.

Moorshud Cooly confirmed in his government, A. D. 1713.

On the death of Syed Reza Khan, the deputy Dewan of the province, the Nuwab procured that appointment for his grandson, Mirza Assud ad Dowlah, son of the deputy Nazim of Orissa, whom he intended for his heir, with the splendid title of Serferaz Khan. But, as it was the custom of Hindoostan, that on the death of any public officer, or immediate servant of the Crown, all his wealth and personal property were sequestered and taken possession of by Government, leaving the family frequently quite destitute,—in order to prevent such an occurrence in his family, the Nuwab took the precaution of purchasing, from the Talookdar of Chunacolly, the zemindary of the city of Moorshudabad; and had the transaction registered in the books of the Canoungoes and of the exchequer; changing

Appoints his Grandson deputy Dewan.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1713.

the name of the new purchase, in compliment to his grandson, to Assudnagur; that, in the event of his death, the profits of the estate, after paying the Royal revenue, might yield to his family the necessaries of life.

He also conferred the office of deputy Nazim of Dacca on Mirza Lutf-ullah, who married his grand-daughter; and procured for him his own title of Moorshud Cooly Khan; thus bestowing upon his own family all the lucrative offices of government, and endeavouring to render his name permanent in the province.

As a further proof of the influence which Moorshud Cooly had acquired at the court of Dehly, it is stated, that Nejum Addeen Aly Khan, a brother of the two celebrated Syeds who had raised Ferrokhsere to the throne, wished for the title of Nasir Jung, which had been formerly conferred on the Governor of Bengal, and who was, in consequence, now requested to exchange it for another equally honourable: but the Nuwab wrote, with his own hand, to the Emperor, that he would never part with the title conferred on him by the great Aurungzebe, but with his life.

Moorshud Cooly Khan was sensible that Bengal owed much of its wealth to its external commerce: he therefore gave every encouragement to foreign merchants, especially to the Moghuls and Arabians, from whom he only exacted the prescribed duties of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and did not permit the custom-house officers to take more than their regulated fees; but he was too keen a politician not to observe with jealousy the fortified factories of the Europeans, and the great advantages which the English had over the merchants, in consequence of the firmāns and nishāns; which they had obtained

(he said) by means of bribery and corruption; and which permitted them to trade either duty free, or for the paltry consideration of 3000 rupees per annum. When therefore he felt himself perfectly secure in his government, he set at nought the orders of the Prince Shujaa, and of the Emperor Aurungzebe; and demanded from the English, either the same duties that were paid by Hindoo subjects, or a constant renewal of presents, both to himself and to all the inferior departments. Such conduct, of course, irritated the English agents, who wrote a detail of their grievances to the Directors of the Company in England, and solicited permission to send an embassy to Dehly, to complain to the Emperor of the Nuwab's conduct. Their suggestion was approved of by the Company; and orders were sent to the Governors of Madras and Bombay, to unite their grievances in the same petition with those of Bengal.

The Governor sets aside the privileges of the English, A. D. 1713.

The nomination of the Ambassadors was left to Mr. Hedges, the Governor of Calcutta, who selected, for this purpose, Mr. John Surman, and Edward Stephenson, two of the ablest factors in the Bengal service; joining to them an Armenian, named Khoja Serhaud, who understood both the English and Persian languages, and who had been for many years the principal merchant in Calcutta. Mr. William Hamilton also accompanied the embassy, as surgeon.

English Embassy to Dehly.

At that period the government of Calcutta were very ignorant of the politics and intrigues of the Court of Dehly; and the Ambassadors had no other lights to direct their proceedings, than such as they obtained from the Armenian; who, although he had never been at Dehly, had procured a certain degree of information from some of his countrymen, whose extensive

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commercial concerns led them over every part of India; and who was very solicitous to be admitted into this honourable commission, in hopes of acquiring a large profit by the goods he should carry, free of charges and duties, in the train of the embassy. The presents designed for the Emperor and his officers consisted of curious glass ware, clockwork, brocades, and the finest manufactures of woollen-cloths and silks; valued, altogether, at 30,000*l.*; which Khoja Serhaud, in his letters to Dehly, magnified to 100,000*l.*; and gave such a description of the varieties which were coming, that Ferrokhsere ordered the embassy to be escorted by the Governors of the provinces through whose territories it might pass. The train proceeded on the Ganges, from Calcutta to Patna; and thence by land to Dehly; where they arrived on the 8th of July, after a march of three months.

The Ambassadors, upon their arrival at Court, very judiciously did not make their application though the Vizier, Syed Abdullah Khan, or his brother Hussein Aly Khan, the Ameer al Omrah; having discovered, that, notwithstanding the Emperor's obligations to these two chiefs, he was not attached to them, nor guided by their advice. The Ambassadors therefore chose for their patron a person named Khoja Hassen, who had accompanied Ferrokhsere from Bengal, and upon his accession to the throne had obtained the title of Khan Dowran. This person, who held the office of Paymaster-general, was a great favourite of the Emperor's, and was admitted to all his councils.

In the meantime, the Nuwab of Bengal, who had from the first instant beheld the embassy with great jealousy, and who considered it as an imputation against the integrity of his

conduct, took much pains, by his interest with the Vizier and his brother the Ameer al Omrah, to thwart its success; and probably would have accomplished his object, if an accident had not placed the English gentlemen, at once, in a high degree of favour with the Emperor himself.

Ferrokhsere had been for some time engaged to marry the daughter of Raja Ajeet Sing, one of the Rajepoot Princes; and the bride had arrived, for that purpose, at the capital: but the Emperor, being afflicted with a complaint which all the skill of his own physicians could not cure, was under the necessity of postponing the marriage. At length, in consequence of the recommendation of Khan Dowran, he permitted Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon of the Embassy, to attend him; and that gentleman having, by a judicious operation, restored the Emperor to health, became, very deservedly, a great favourite with his Majesty, who, in addition to many proofs of the Royal munificence*, promised to grant any other favour he should ask. Mr. Hamilton, instead of requesting any further reward for himself, besought his Majesty to concede to the English Ambassadors the object of their mission. The Emperor, surprised

Mr. Hamilton, a surgeon, employed by the Emperor.

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* Among the presents given to Mr. Hamilton on this occasion, were models of all his surgical instruments, made of pure gold.

In clearing away the ground for the foundation of the new church in Calcutta, about thirty years ago, the tombstone of Mr. Hamilton was discovered; which, in addition to an English epitaph, bore a Persian inscription, thus translated by Mr. Gladwin: "William "Hamilton, Physician in the service of the English Company, who had accompanied the "English Ambassador to the enlightened presence, and having made his own name famous "in the four quarters of the earth by the cure of the Emperor, the Asylum of the world, "Mohammed Ferrukhseer the Victorious; and, with a thousand difficulties, having ob- "tained permission from the Court, which is the refuge of the universe, to return to his "country; by the Divine decree, on the fourth of December 1717, died in Calcutta, and "is buried here."

SECT. VI. A. D. 1715. at Mr. Hamilton's disinterestedness, promised, that as soon as the marriage ceremonies were over, he would take the petition into his serious consideration, and grant the English every indulgence he could, consistent with the dignity of his own empire.

Shortly after this conversation, the marriage festivals commenced, and were celebrated with greater pomp and magnificence than had ever been witnessed in Hindoostan. This event interrupted all other business, and obliged the Ambassadors to wait for six months before they could procure a favourable opportunity of presenting their petition.

A. D. 1716. It was at length presented, in the month of January; and, besides various subjects of complaint from Bombay and Madras, stated the numerous impositions practised by the Nuwab of Bengal, and his inferior officers. It therefore prayed,

"That a *dustuck*, or passport, signed by the President of Calcutta, should exempt the goods it specified from being stopped or examined by the officers of the Bengal government, under any pretence.

"That the officers of the mint, at Moorshudabad, should at all times, when required, allow three days in the week for the coinage of the English Company's money.

"That all persons, whether Europeans or natives, who might be indebted or accountable to the Company, should be delivered up to the Presidency at Calcutta, on the first demand.

"That the English might purchase the lordship of thirty-eight towns, with the same immunities as the Prince Azeem Ooshan had permitted them to buy Calcutta, Chuttanutty, and Govindpore."

Khan Dowran, whom the Ambassadors had chosen as

their patron, not daring openly to espouse their cause, advised them to act as if they had no other reliance than on Syed Abdullah Khan, the Vizier: and even the Emperor, although he professed a general approbation of the petition, directed the several articles to be discussed by the different officers of the State, to whose cognizance they were deemed to belong. SECT. VI. A. D. 1716.

This subjected the whole petition to the judgment of the Vizier; who, not without candour, disputed all the material articles, and readily allowed those of less importance. A second and a third petition were therefore presented to the Emperor; in consequence of which the Vizier was at length induced to give up all his objections: but, to the great disappointment of the ambassadors, the mandates were issued, not under the Emperor's, but under the seal of the Vizier; which, although carrying great authority in provinces near the capital, was likely to be little respected by the distant Viceroys, to whom these orders were addressed.

To increase the difficulties of the embassy, Khoja Serhaud, having been checked by his colleagues in some irregular proceedings, perplexed all their operations, and, as they thought, betrayed their councils. Nevertheless, Messrs. Stephenson and Surman, with great steadiness and becoming spirit, returned the mandates; and determined to wait until they should obtain patents under the Imperial seal.

In the meantime, the agents of the Nuwab of Bengal exerted themselves to thwart the measure as much as possible, and by their influence and bribery postponed the business for fourteen months. At length the Ambassadors were advised to bribe a favourite Eunuch in the Seraglio; and although not very sanguine in their expectations from this measure, were A. D. 1717.

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The English obtain various Firmans from the Emperor, A. D. 1717.

induced to comply: and to their great surprise, as soon as the money was paid, the Vizier, and all his dependants, appeared as much inclined to forward their views, as they had hitherto been averse; and soon after, thirty-four patents, embracing all the different subjects of the petition, were issued in the Emperor's name, and the principal ones authenticated by the Imperial seal*.

These papers were delivered to the Ambassadors before they had discovered the real cause of their success; which, however, was explained to them before they left Dehly, by one of Khan Dowran's officers.

In the year 1687†, a little while before the fleet from England began to take the Moghul ships, the English agents at Surat retired to Bombay, and continued there till peace was restored. During the period the Ambassadors were at Dehly, the president of Bombay, finding that the expenses of the factory at Surat, in consequence of the impositions practised by the Moghul officers, far exceeded the profits, had ordered it to be withdrawn; and the Governor of Surat, reasoning from former experience, took the alarm, and firmly believed that a fleet was on its way from England, to commit hostilities, as in 1687; which would have been attended with the same consequences, as many valuable ships, belonging to the Moghul merchants, were then at sea. He therefore wrote privately to the Eunuch, who he knew had great influence over the Emperor, and was highly respected by the Vizier, to represent to them the dangerous consequences of a farther refusal of the English petition. This suggestion was readily

* See Appendix. † See page 318.

listened to, both by the Emperor and Abdullah Khan; and the Eunuch, foreseeing the change that would shortly ensue, determined to reap some advantage from his intelligence, and imposed himself on the Ambassadors as the sole author and instigator of the measure.

The Ambassadors, having thus accomplished the object of their mission, took leave of the Emperor in the month of July, A.D. 1717. two years after their arrival at Dehly. The patents addressed to the Soubah of the Dekkan and the Nuwab of Guzerat took effect as soon as they were published, because they afforded no political pretext for opposition; but in Bengal their meaning was much disputed or evaded.

The article which permitted the English to purchase thirty-eight towns would have given them a district extending ten miles south of Calcutta, along the banks on each side of Hoogly river; of which the passage, in this extent, might have been easily commanded, by the erection of batteries or redoubts; at the same time that the revenue of the tract would have defrayed the expense: and the possession of such a tract would have brought under their subjection and authority a considerable number of the Moghul subjects.

The prudent foresight of Moorshud Cooly Khan, added to his resentment at the success of the embassy, made him behold with indignation the concession of this article; but not daring openly to oppose the Imperial mandate, he privately threatened the proprietors of the land with denunciations of his vengeance, if they parted with their ground to the English upon any terms that should be offered: and the Company's servants, confiding too much in the sanction of the Emperor's firmān, neglected the more efficacious means of bribing the Nuwab

SECT. VI. A. D. 1717.

to compliance with their wishes. Thus the most important concession which had been obtained by the embassy was entirely frustrated.

The Nuwab, however, complied with the orders contained in the first article; and the privilege of granting *ductucks*, or passports, by the President of Calcutta, was recognised all over the province. This circumstance greatly augmented and facilitated the circulation of the English trade; which now no longer paid customs, nor was liable to be stopped by the officers of Government. But a question arose, whether the English were entitled, under this privilege, to participate in the internal commerce of Bengal, by carrying the manufacture or products of one part of the province to another. The Emperor's firmān implied no restrictions; but the Nuwab insisted, that the immunity extended only to such articles as were either imported, or intended to be exported, by *sea;* alleging, that as salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and several other articles of general consumption, were either farmed out in monopolies, or taxed with heavy duties, if the English were allowed to trade in these articles, it would not only be a great injury to all the other merchants, but a very considerable diminution of the public revenue.*

Convinced as much by the reasoning of the Nuwab, as deterred by his power, the servants of the Company receded from their pretensions, and applied themselves to make the most advantage of those privileges which were not contested.

Flourishing state of Calcutta.

Success produced new adventurers; and besides a number of English private merchants licensed by the Company, Calcutta was, in a short time, peopled by Portuguese, Armenian, Moghul, and Hindoo merchants, who carried on their com-

merce under the protection of the English flag: thus the shipping belonging to the port, in the course of ten years after the embassy, amounted to ten thousand tons; and many individuals amassed fortunes, without injuring the Company's trade, or incurring the displeasure of the Moghul Government. The President, nevertheless, found it requisite to conciliate the Nuwab frequently, by presents, in order to secure the Company's investments, and to facilitate the course of their business at the subordinate factories; but the inhabitants of Calcutta enjoyed, after the return of the embassy, a degree of freedom and security unknown to the other subjects of the Moghul empire; and that city, in consequence, increased yearly, in extent, beauty, and riches.

In the year 1130, Moorshud Cooly Khan obtained from Court the patents he had long solicited; conferring on him the government of Behar*, in addition to the united offices of Nazim and Dewan of Bengal and Orissa; which threw into his hands greater powers than had been entrusted to any Governor, since the introduction of the Emperor Akbar's regulations. A. D. 1718.

In the year of the Hejira 1131, the unfortunate Ferrokhsere was put to a cruel death†, by the very persons who had raised him to the throne; and the two young princes, Ruffeh ad Dirjaut, and Ruffeh ad Dowlah, in the course of seven months occupied the throne and their coffins; scarcely affording time to the Governor of Bengal to manifest the loyalty of his Death of Ferrokhsere, A. D. 1719.

* See *Scott's History of the Dekkan*, A.D. 1719.

† For the two or three first years of Ferrokhsere's reign, the government of Behar was held by Ameer Jumlah; but was afterwards conferred on Ser Balund Khan, who at this time was removed to Cabul.

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The Nuwab confirmed in his government by Mohammed Shah, Feb. 1720.

intentions. But as soon as Mohammed Shah was firmly seated on the throne, the Nuwab prepared the usual presents, and forwarded them, with the collections of the year, to Dehly; and, in return, was confirmed in his government.

In the year 1135, after the murder of the two Syeds, Moorshud Cooly Khan again forwarded more valuable presents to the Emperor, with a congratulatory letter on his success. He at the same time remitted to the Viziers the collection for the last year; and by such conduct, at a time that the other Governors were very remiss in their duty, maintained his reputation and influence at Court.

About this period, the government of Bengal was in some measure disturbed by an attempt at insurrection, by two of the Afghan Zemindars of Mahmoodabad; who, having collected a number of followers, plundered the adjoining districts, and had even the audacity to seize upon 60,000 rupees of the public treasure which was on the way to Moorshudabad. As soon as intelligence of this circumstance reached the Nuwab, he ordered Ahsen Aly Khan, the foujedar of Hoogly, to march against the insurgents: and that officer having, by a rapid movement, surprised them, took them all prisoners, and sent them loaded with chains to the Nuwab, who confiscated all their property, transferred their zemindaries to Ramjiwun, his favourite Hindoo collector, and condemned them (being Mohammedans) to perpetual imprisonment: but in order that the government should not be losers by this disturbance, and to prevent a repetition of similar outrages, he caused all the zemindars in the vicinity of Mahmoodabad to pay their proportion of the 60,000 rupees, public money, which had been plundered.

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Moorshud Cooly was indefatigable in the extirpation of robbers. Wherever a robbery was committed, he compelled the Foujedar, or the Zemindar, either to find out the thief, or to recover the property. The goods, or their equivalent in money, were always restored to the persons who had been robbed; and the thief, whenever caught, was impaled alive.

At Cutwah and Moorshudgunge he erected guard-houses, for the protection of travellers; and gave the command of the police guards to one of his slaves, named Mohammed Jan, who was of a savage disposition, and who was always attended by a band of executioners; and whenever he caught a thief, used to have the body split in two, and hung upon trees on the high road; from which circumstance he was nick-named the Kolhareh, or Axe.

By these severe means, during Moorshud Cooly Khan's government, travellers were protected on the roads, and every man slept securely in his own house.

Having, in the preceding pages, given what may be termed the dark side of Moorshud Cooly Khan's picture, we have now much pleasure in reversing the object; although we fear the portrait will still not be approved of by Englishmen. Both sides are however drawn by the same author; who, although anonymous, is allowed, by the Mohammedans, to have written with truth and impartiality*.

Character of the Nuwab.

"Excepting Shaisteh Khan there has not appeared in Bengal, nor indeed in any part of Hindoostan, an Ameer who

* This work was translated and published by F. Gladwin, Esq. in Calcutta, A. D. 1788, under the title of *a Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal*; but the greater part of it has been inserted in the *Ryaz Assulateen*; and some extracts from it are given in the *Araishi Muhafil*, a late Hindoostany work.

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can be compared with Moorshud Cooly; for zeal, in the propagation of the faith; for wisdom, in the establishment of laws and regulations; for munificence and liberality, in the encouragement and support given to men of family and eminence; for rigid and impartial justice, in redressing wrongs, and punishing offenders; in short, whose whole administration so much tended to the benefit of mankind, and the glory of the Creator.

"His judicial decisions were so rational and proper, that they were as much respected and obeyed as the decrees of those monarchs whose names are most renowned for equity and justice. He was such an observer of his word, that he never failed in the performance of any engagement: he slept but little, and carefully observed the stated times of prayer: from breakfast to noon he employed himself in copying the Koran, and in administering justice: and every year he sent Korans of his own writing, with valuable offerings, to Mecca, Medina, and other holy places.

"He maintained above two thousand readers, beadsmen, and chanters, who were constantly employed in reading the Koran, and in other acts of devotion. During the first twelve days of the month Rubby al Avul, which include the birth and death of the holy Prophet, he feasted people of all conditions: and on those nights, the road from Maheenagur to Loll Baugh, which is above three miles, was illuminated with lamps, representing verses of the Koran, mosques, trees, and other figures. Nearly a hundred thousand persons were employed on these occasions; and, on the firing of a gun, the whole was illuminated at once, exhibiting, in an instant, such a sheet of light as astonished the beholders. He also kept the festival of

the prophet Khizer, when paper boats, decorated with lighted lamps, are set afloat upon the river*.

" Besides feeding a multitude of people, he also provided food for the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air.

" He always provided against famine, and severely prohibited all monopolies of grain: he constantly made private inquiries concerning the market-price of grain; and, whenever he discovered any imposition, the offenders suffered the most exemplary punishments. If the importation of grain to the cities and towns fell short of what had been usual, he sent officers into the country, who broke open the hoards of individuals, and compelled them to carry their grain to the public markets. Rice was then commonly sold, at Moorshudabad, at four maunds for a rupee; and the prices of other provisions were in proportion. He also strictly prohibited the exportation of grain; and the Foujedar of Hoogly had express orders to see that no ship, belonging to Europeans or others, was suffered to carry away more than was sufficient for the victualling of the crew, during their intended voyage; neither were any merchants suffered to have any stores of grain.

" He was so punctual in the performance of all tokens of respect towards his Sovereign, that he would not sit down in a Royal boat; and when, in the rainy season, the Emperor's fleet of state boats came from Dacca, for an exhibition, he went out to meet it; and turning his face towards the seat of Government, made his obeisance, presented his *nuzzir*, and kissed the deck of the royal barge. Engagements between elephants being prohibited from Court, he did not allow them

* See Note, page 238.

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within his jurisdiction; but used to exhibit and be present at those between elephants and tigers, and other animals. He took no delight in hunting; he never indulged himself with spirituous liquors, nor any intoxicating drugs; neither did he amuse himself with singers or dancers. He always kept constant to one lawful wife; and, out of his excess of delicacy, would not suffer any strange women, or eunuchs, to enter the apartments of his seraglio.

"He despised all the refinements of luxury, and particularly in dress; and refrained from every thing that is prohibited in the law. No high-seasoned dishes were served up to his table; neither frozen sherbets, nor creams, but only plain ice. During the winter, Khyzir Khan, his house-steward, used to collect, in the mountains of Rajemahel, a sufficient stock of ice for the rest of the year; and the whole was done at the expense of the zemindars of that district. In the mangoe season, there was stationed at Rajemahel an overseer, who used to keep a regular account of the choicest mangoe-trees in Maldah, Kutwalee, and Husseinpoor; and his guards were placed over them, to see that no one purloined the fruit, and that it was regularly sent to Moorshudabad. The zemindars furnished every thing that was required for these purposes; and they durst not cut down a mangoe-tree, nor touch any of the fruit, that the overseer had appropriated to the use of the Nazim's table.

"He possessed very extensive learning, and paid great respect to men who were eminent for their piety or erudition: he wrote with great elegance, and was a remarkable fine penman: his skill in arithmetic enabled him to scrutinize all accounts himself: he signed all orders and accounts with red ink: he was a brave soldier, a liberal benefactor, upright and just in

all his dealings, the steady protector of the weak; so that, during his government, the meanest peasant was secured from injustice and oppression.

"He made no retrenchments in any Royal grants, or in those of former Soubahdars, for charitable purposes; but, on the contrary, increased them: no Zemindar or Aumil could, with impunity, oppress any one: vakeels were continually in search of complainants; and whenever they met with any person who had reason to be dissatisfied, they used every endeavour to pacify him; but if it happened that a well-founded complaint reached the ears of Moorshud Cooly, the offender was sure to suffer severely. If the officers of justice, out of partiality, or respect to rank, neglected to redress the meanest person, upon a representation thereof from the party aggrieved, the Nuwab tried the cause himself; and in his decisions shewed neither favour nor affection to any one, the rich and the poor bearing equal value in his sight*.

"In the beginning of the government of Moorshud Cooly, the Cutwal† of Hoogly forcibly took away a young girl from the house of her father, a Moghul; and Ahsenullah, the foujedar of that place, suffering the offence to pass unnoticed, the father carried his complaint before the Nuwab, who commanded that the offender should be stoned to death, conformably to the ordinance of the Koran; and notwithstanding all the entreaties of Ahsenullah, who was a great favourite, the sentence was actually executed.

* "Notwithstanding the high encomiums which are here bestowed upon the government of Moorshud Cooly, his memory is universally execrated by the Hindoos; who contemplate, with heartfelt joy, the happy influence of the British sway over these regions; whereby they have been relieved from the direful effects of Mohammedan superstition, and are permanently secured from the merciless hand of tyranny, rapacity, and oppression."

† Mayor of the town.

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Mohammedan Bigotry.

"A Mohammedan beggar having asked charity of Bindrabund, a Hindoo landholder of Chunakholly, he was displeased at his manner, and turned him out of the house. The fakier collected together a number of bricks, with which he erected a wall on Bindrabund's road, and gave it the name of a mosque; and from it called the people to prayer. Whenever Bindrabund passed that way, he vociferated the summons to prayer, and so vexed him, that in rage he threw down some of the bricks, abused the fakier, and drove him away. The fakier complained to Moorshud Cooly; and Cazy Mohammed Sheref, in an assembly of men learned in the law, sentenced Bindrabund to be put to death. The Nuwab was not willing to take away his life; and asked the Cazy whether there was not any way of evading the strict letter of the law, to save the poor Hindoo. The Cazy answered, 'There may be so much delay, as to allow time for his intercessor to be put to death first; but after that, he must absolutely be executed.' All the endeavours of Moorshud Cooly, in his behalf, were ineffectual; and although Bindrabund was recommended to the Emperor's mercy by the Prince Azeem Ooshan, yet it was of no avail; for the Cazy killed him with an arrow from his own hand. After the execution, Azeem Ooshan complained to Aurungzebe, that Cazy Mohammed Sheref had killed Bindrabund in a fit of insanity; but the Emperor wrote with his own hand on the Prince's letter, 'Cazy Sheref is on the side of God.' At the death of Aurungzebe, Cazy Sheref applied for leave to resign; and all the entreaties of the Nuwab could not prevail upon him to continue in office.

"The Nuwab, being now far advanced in years, and finding his health decline very fast, gave orders for building his tomb,

with a mosque, and a *kehtareh* (a square, with shops, &c.) SECT. VI.
Morad Ferash, a confidential but menial servant, was the person employed to superintend the work. He pitched upon a spot situated in the Khass Talook, on the east side of the city. He pulled down all the neighbouring Hindoo temples, and used the materials for raising the new work. The zemindars, and other Hindoos, would have preserved their temples at any price; but no intreaties or bribes could prevail: not one was left standing in Moorshudabad, or at the distance of four days' journey from it. In the remote villages, many of the Hindoos' houses were threatened with destruction, upon pretence of their being dedicated to religious uses; and they were necessitated to redeem them by the payment of a sum of money. The servants of Hindoos of all ranks were compelled to work, unless their masters paid for their release. So great was the dread of Morad, that no one dared to complain; his written orders were circulated throughout the country, and implicitly obeyed. By these means, in the course of a year, the buildings were completed, and a *gunge* (a public market where duties are collected) annexed to the kehtareh, to keep the whole in repair."

In the year 1138, Moorshud Cooly Khan, apprehensive A. D. 1734.
that he had not long to live, exerted all his interest and influence at the Court of Dehly, to preserve the succession to his government for his grandson, Serferaz Khan; and in all probability might have succeeded*, had not a powerful rival

* At this period, Nizam al Moolk had rebelled, and had taken possession of the Dekkan. The province of Guzerat had also revolted; and the ministers of Mohammed Shah were at variance, and only jealous of each other. *See Scott's History of the Dekkan.*

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opposed his views, in the person of Shujaa Addeen Khan, the father of the young man, then deputy governor of Orissa; who, by his equability of temper, generosity, and strict administration of justice, had rendered himself respected and beloved in the province which he governed.

This person, aware of the intentions of the Nuwab, privately employed intelligent agents to carry on a correspondence, and negotiate for him, with Khan Dowran, who had succeeded Syed Hussein Aly Khan as Ameer al Omrah, and who was a great favourite with the Emperor. Between these personages it was arranged, that Khan Dowran should procure the appointment of Soubahdar or Governor for himself, but that he would nominate Shujaa Addeen his deputy in the provinces of Bengal and Orissa.

Supported by so powerful a patron, Shujaa began to devise the means of success; and for this purpose, he, under various pretences, dismissed several of his bravest officers to Moorshudabad. He also collected a number of boats for the speedy conveyance of his troops, should the event occur in the rainy season; and he established a private post, to bring him, twice a day, intelligence of the state of the Nuwab's health. At length, having received authentic information that Moorshud Cooly could not survive more than a few days, he appointed Mohammed Tuckee Khan, his son by a concubine, to be his representative in Orissa; and, attended by his confidential officers and a select corps of cavalry, he quitted Cuttack; and before his arrival at Moorshudabad, he received, on the same day, positive accounts of the Nuwab's death, and his credentials from Khan Dowran, constituting him Deputy Governor of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. Furnished with this docu-

ment, he proceeded with expedition to the seat of government; SECT. VI.
and alighting at the palace called the *Chehel Setoon* (Forty Pillars), summoned all the public officers to attend him; and upon their arrival produced his patents, which he caused to be read aloud, and without opposition took possession of the musnud; after which he received the congratulations of all the persons present, and caused the event to be notified by the shrill sounds of the Imperial music. This circumstance occurred early in the year of the Hejira 1139. A. D. 1725.

Previous to Moorshud Cooly Khan's decease, he appointed his grandson, Serferaz Khan, his public and private successor, and sole executor of his last testament; and, having delivered over to him the keys of all his treasures and valuable effects, he admonished him to behave with justice and humanity to all those who were placed under his authority: soon after which he departed this transitory life. Serferaz Khan immediately Death of the Nuwab. sent intelligence of this event to Dehly; he also wrote to his father (of whose intentions he had no suspicion), to acquaint him of the circumstance; and, conformably to instructions contained in his grandfather's will, deposited his remains in the tomb which had been previously prepared, under the steps of the newly-erected mosque. He then assured all the public officers of his intention to retain them in their stations, should he be confirmed in the government; and afterwards removed all the treasure and effects of the deceased from the palace to his own house.

Of the first interview between the father and son, after this event, there have been two accounts written. In the *Seir Mutakhereen* it is stated, that the first intelligence Serferaz Khan had of his father's arrival, was from the sound of the

SECT. VI. A. D. 1725.

Imperial music. Astonished by the noise, he inquired the cause, and, to his utter confusion, learned the unexpected event. He immediately called a council of his intimate friends, who unanimously advised him, that, as his father had received and proclaimed his commission, had taken possession of the palace, and was acknowledged by the public officers, he had only to submit with a good grace. The young man, either agreeing in opinion with his friends, or averse to oppose his parent, hastened without any retinue to the palace, fell at his father's feet, and congratulated him upon his accession to the government.

In the work translated by Mr. Gladwin, it is related, that Serferaz Khan received early intelligence of the approach of his father, and that he made preparations to oppose him; but that his mother and grandmother, both women remarkable for their prudence and great sagacity, and for whom he entertained the utmost affection and respect, interposed, and represented to him, that his father being an old man, could not keep him long out of the government, or, at least, from the inheritance to Moorshud Cooly Khan's private estate; and therefore advised him to be satisfied, for the present, with the office of Dewan of Bengal; and not to be guilty of the horrid impiety of appearing in arms against his father, which would fix a reproach upon his name to all eternity. These arguments prevailed so entirely over the ambition of Serferaz Khan, that he advanced to meet his father, and conducted him to Moorshudabad; and, after resigning to him the palace, retired to his own house at Nuktakhaly; and from that time never failed to pay his respects to him every morning.

## NUWAB MOTIMUN AL MOOLK, SHUJAA ADDEEN MOHAMMED KHAN, SHUJAA AD DOWLAH, ASSUD JUNG, BEHADUR.

*Origin of Shujaa Addeen Khan—Marries the daughter of Moorshud Cooly Khan—Appointed Deputy Governor of Orissa—Takes into his service two brothers, named Hajy Ahmed and Aly Verdy Khan—Shujaa Addeen obtains the deputy government of Bengal and Orissa—Appoints his son Dewan of the province—Releases the zemindars from their captivity—Sends a large sum of money, and various presents, to the Emperor Mohammed Shah—Distributes the subordinate appointments among his friends—Remits the amount of the revenues regularly to Dehly—Instances of his magnificence and charity—Increases his army—Becomes indolent and luxurious—Constructs a beautiful garden in the vicinity of Moorshudabad—The province of Behar again annexed to the government of Bengal—The Nuwab appoints Aly Verdy Khan to be his deputy in Behar—Aly Verdy proceeds to Patna—Takes into his service a corps of Afghans—Subdues the refractory zemindars—Promoted by the Emperor—Assassinates the Afghan Chief—Reasons assigned for this conduct—Origin of the Ostend East-India Company—One of their ships arrives in Bengal; the commander of which applies for, and obtains, ground to erect a Factory at Bankybazar—The trade flourishes—The agents surround the factory with a wall and bastions—The Emperor of Germany withdraws his Charter from the Company—The commerce still carried on by individuals—The English seize one of the Austrian ships—Prevail upon the Nuwab to order the fortifications of Bankybazar to be destroyed—The Germans oppose these measures—The Nuwab's troops lay siege to the factory—The native servants desert—The Agent wounded—embarks with the few Europeans on board one of their own ships, and quits Bengal—The factory destroyed—A dispute between the English of Calcutta and the Foujedar of Hoogly—The Kingdom of Tipperah made a province of the Moghul Empire—Dissentions between the Nuwab's sons—Death of Mohammed Tuckee Khan—The Nuwab appoints Moorshud Cooly Khan to be his deputy in Orissa; and Serferaz Khan governor of Dacca—Exemplary character of Jeswont Roy, Dewan of Dacca, who reduces the price of grain, and opens the western gate erected by*

SECT. VI.

*Shaista Khan—resigns his office—Sayid Ahmed, foujedar of Rungpore, invades Dinagepore and Couch Beyhar, and obtains much treasure—The Nuwab appoints Serferaz Khan his Heir—his Death.*

THIS officer was, by descent, an Afshar, of the tribe of Turcomans, who formerly inhabited Khorassan, the eastern province of Persia, and were esteemed the bravest soldiers in that kingdom. He was born in the city of Boorhanpore, in the Dekhan; and during his youth, having contracted an intimacy with Moorshud Cooly Khan, who was then Dewan of Hyderabad, married his only daughter, named Zynet al Nissa, Begum; by whom he had a son called Mirza Assudallah, whose title was Serferaz Khan: he had also another son, by a concubine, named Mohammed Tuckee.

When Moorshud Cooly was appointed Dewan of Bengal, his son-in-law accompanied him thither; and upon the former being promoted to the united governments of Bengal and Orissa, he sent the latter, as his deputy, to govern Orissa. In this situation Shujaa Addeen Khan conducted himself, as a public officer, with much propriety: but being of a luxurious disposition, and addicted to gallantry, he gave much offence to his wife; who in consequence separated from him, and, with her son, went to reside at Moorshudabad.

Shortly after this event, a person, named Mirza Mohammed, who had married a near relation of Shujaa Addeen Khan, came, with his two sons, from Dehly to Cuttack; and were all three admitted into the service of the Governor. The senior of the brothers was named Hajy* Ahmed; the junior, Mirza Mohammed Aly, better known by the title of Aly Verdy Khan. These were both men of liberal education and distinguished

* *Hajy* is a title conferred on all persons who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca: he had just returned from Arabia.

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abilities; and, by their counsels, not only ingratiated themselves with the Governor, but rendered his government popular, respectable, and beneficial to the empire.

In the preceding chapter it has been stated, that when Moorshud Cooly Khan found his dissolution approaching, he had endeavoured to procure the succession to his government for his grandson, Serferaz Khan; but that Shujaa Addeen had, by the exertions of his agents at Dehly, effected a different arrangement; by which he was nominated the deputy of Khan Dowran, the Ameer al Omrah, who had procured from the Emperor the government for himself; and that Shujaa Addeen, by his dextrous management, had obtained possession of his office without any opposition.

The new Governor, in order to reward his son for his forbearance, and to reconcile himself to his wife, nominated the former, Dewan of Bengal; but as that office required an intricate knowledge of accounts, and much attention to business, he appointed Roy Alum Chund, the comptroller of the household, to be the deputy of the young man; by which the latter was relieved from all the toils and responsibility of the office, and his father was satisfied that the duty would be diligently performed. The Nuwab, immediately after, selected a Council, consisting of the two brothers, Hajy Ahmed and Aly Verdy Khan; Roy Alum Chund, for whom he procured the title of Roy Royan; and the Imperial banker, Juggut Seat; and by their advice conducted himself in all the measures of his government. The two latter were Hindoos, and were well acquainted with the minute details of business and all the intricacies of the revenue department.

Shujaa Addeen commenced his government by an act of

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clemency and justice, which does him the highest honour, and rendered him extremely popular through all the three provinces.

He gave orders that the unhappy zemindars, who had been kept in a miserable state of confinement during the long government of his predecessor, should, upon giving security for their good conduct, be permitted to return to their families and homes, and to the management of their farms.

He also immediately despatched the sum of forty lacs of rupees in specie, being part of the private fortune of his father-in-law, to the Court of Mohammed Shah; and sent also a number of elephants, and other valuable presents, to the Emperor and to his ministers; in return for which he received a confirmation of his appointment, as Governor of Bengal and Orissa; a commission of commander of 7000 horse; and the additional titles of Motimun al Moolk, Shujaa ad Dowlah, Assud Jung, Behadur.

The government of Behar was however again separated, and conferred on an officer named Nusserit yar Khan, and afterwards on Fakher ad Dowlah. As soon as Shujaa Addeen was confirmed in his government, he disposed of the public appointments amongst his connections and friends, in the following manner: to his son Serferaz Khan, as formerly mentioned, the office of Dewan; to his other son, Mohammed Tuckee, the government of Orissa. He confirmed Moorshud Cooly Khan, his son-in-law, in the deputy government of Dacca. To the three sons of his chief counsellor, Hajy Ahmed, viz. Nuazish Mohammed, Sayid Ahmed, and Zyn Addeen, he gave the offices of Paymaster-general, Foujedar of Rungpore, and Foujedar of Rajemahel; and upon Shujaa Cooly, an old servant, he conferred the office of Foujedar of Hoogly. His other

counsellor, Aly Verdy Khan, had not any sons, but his three daughters were married to the sons of his brother Hajy Ahmed. SECT. VI.

The new Governor imitated the conduct of his predecessor, in despatching to Court regularly, at the end of the year, the amount of the revenues; and had the satisfaction to find, that, notwithstanding his liberal treatment to the zemindars, the revenue, instead of being diminished, had increased: for whereas Moorshud Cooly had seldom remitted more than one crore and thirty lacs of rupees, the amount of his collections for the year 1141 amounted to one crore and forty-eight lacs, A. D. 1728. all of which was remitted to Moorshudabad by the agents of the Imperial banker, Juggat Seat, without any difficulty or oppression.

His mind being thus freed from public cares, he followed the natural bent of his inclinations, and lived in a style of splendor and munificence that far surpassed any of his predecessors. The palace of Moorshud Cooly Khan being too confined and ill-contrived, he ordered it to be pulled down, and erected another more suitable to his ideas of grandeur and comfort. He was very liberal to his servants, and paid great attention to men of learning and piety: he was also very charitable, and administered justice with great impartiality. He ordered the conduct of Nazir Ahmed and Morad, two of the oppressive instruments of his predecessor, to be closely investigated; and, having proved them guilty of various crimes and oppressions, condemned them to death. Being convinced that the very reduced military establishment kept up by Moorshud Cooly Khan was inadequate to the security and peace of the country, he augmented his army to 25,000, consisting of equal numbers of cavalry, and infantry armed with matchlocks.

SECT. VI. In short, by his general conduct in the early part of his government, Shujaa Addeen evinced to the world that he was deserving of his good fortune; but after some years he became indolent, and abandoned himself too much to luxury and pleasure, leaving the business to be managed by his Council.

In the village of Dehpareh, on the banks of the Bhaggarutty river, Nazir Ahmed had begun to build a mosque in the middle of a very extensive garden. After the execution of that person, the Governor finished the mosque in a superb style, and laid out the garden with great beauty and elegance. To this place he gave the name of *Ferreh Bāg* (the Garden of Happiness); and in the summer retired thither with his seraglio, and passed his time in the enjoyment of every luxury.

A.D. 1729-30. In the year 1143, Fakher ad Dowlah, the governor of Behar, having been guilty of some impropriety, was removed from that office; and through the influence of Khan Dowran, the Paymaster-general, the government of that province was again annexed to Bengal; and Shujaa Addeen Khan was, in consequence, ordered to appoint his own deputy to that important situation.

It was the wish of the Governor to have appointed one of his own sons; but Zinet al Nissa, his wife, who, as the heiress of Moorshud Cooly, interfered frequently in the government*, refused to part with her son Serferaz Khan; and was at the

* So strong an opinion had this lady of her own consequence, that, when it was determined Aly Verdy Khan should be appointed to Behar, she sent for him to the gate of her apartments, and conferred on him the *Khilaat* or robe of honour, as from herself; *after which* her husband presented him with his patent, and other insignia of office. This idea was however extremely erroneous, as there is no hereditary rank in Hindoostan, much less a right of succession to a government; nor was it, I believe, ever attempted with success, till the power of the Moghul Emperor was annihilated by the invasion of Nadir Shah and the events which ensued.

same time jealous of its being conferred on the son of the concubine, lest it should make him of too much consequence: the subject was therefore left to the consideration of the Council, who recommended Aly Verdy Khan, as the person best qualified to preserve the dignity of the situation, and to keep in subjection the zemindars of that province, who were noted for their independence and strong spirit of insurrection. Aly Verdy Khan was, in consequence, invested with the robes of office, and was sent to Patna, with an escort of 5000 troops. SECT. VI. A.D. 1739-30.

Upon the arrival of Aly Verdy Khan at Patna, he found the whole province of Behar in the greatest confusion; a band of robbers, called *Bunjareh*, who had entered it under the pretence of purchasing grain and other commodities, laid the country through which they passed under heavy contribution, and plundered the collectors of the revenue. The zemindars of Bettiah Phoolwareh, Chuckwar, and Boujepore, were also in a state of insurrection, and had for some time set at defiance the authority of the Governor.

To reduce these people to submission, Aly Verdy Khan found it requisite to take into his service a corps of Afghans, under the command of their chief, Abdul Kereem Khan. With these, and the forces he had taken from Moorshudabad, he first attacked and routed the Bunjarehs, taking from them all their plunder: after which, he, in succession, reduced the zemindars to obedience; and compelled them not only to liquidate the arrears of revenue, but to pay him large sums of money, under the denomination of *Nuzzeraneh* and *Peishkush* (offering and tribute). By these means Aly Verdy Khan acquired much wealth, and his troops were also enriched by plunder. In

SECT. VI. consequence of these services, and at the recommendation of the Nuwab, he received from the Emperor an increase of his military rank, and the title of Mohabut Jung.

A.D. 1730. He however tarnished these honours shortly after, by the assassination of Abdul Kereem Khan, the commander of the Afghans, whose services had been so useful to him. This harsh measure he excused to his friends, by stating, that the overbearing conduct and insolence of that officer had risen to such a height, that he found he must either get rid of him, or have given up his own authority*.

It now becomes requisite to notice the introduction of another European nation into Bengal. About the year 1717, some merchants of the Austrian Netherlands, who had long wished to participate in the advantageous commerce of the East, fitted out two ships for India, which made a very successful voyage. This circumstance stimulated others; and application was made to the Court of Vienna for permission to establish an East-India Company at Ostend. Although this measure was strongly opposed by the English, French, and Dutch, the Emperor of Germany granted, in August 1723, to the merchants of the Austrian Netherlands†, his letters-patent, authorizing them to trade to the East Indies, under the denomination of the Ostend Company.

Origin of the Ostend Company.

In the mean time, one of the private ships arrived in the Ganges; and, by the assistance of the French at Chandernagore, succeeded in procuring a full cargo: and the captain of this

* After the dissolution of the Afghan empire, corps of these people were taken into the service of the Hindoo Princes and Moghul Governors: they are esteemed brave troops, but very mutinous; and unsteady in their attachment, unless to their own chiefs.

† See Modern Universal History, vol. XI. page 211.

ship, previous to his departure, made application to Moorshud Cooly Khan, then Governor of Bengal, for ground to erect a factory, should the Company be established. As the Nuwab was not only anxious to increase the trade of the province, but also desirous of introducing more rivals to the English, of whose privileges it has been already seen he was excessively jealous, he immediately complied with the request, and assigned the village of Bankybazar, situated on the eastern side of the river, fifteen miles above Calcutta, for the residence of the Germans.

In 1724, being the first year after the establishment of the New Company, an Ostend ship, named The Emperor Charles, mounting thirty guns, arrived in Bengal, but was lost in going up the Ganges. The greater part of her cargo was however saved; and the officers and crew took possession of Banky-bazar, and erected temporary houses.

In the two following years, three ships, of a larger size than the first, arrived in Bengal, and completely established the Ostend trade in that province; and as they undersold the other Europeans in various articles, their factory quickly rose in estimation.

At first, the factors resided in houses constructed of mats and bamboos; but they afterwards built brick dwellings, and surrounded their factory with a wall, having bastions at the angles; they also cut a ditch, communicating with the river, of such a depth as to admit sloops of considerable burthen.

Thus the affairs of the Ostend Company seemed to be in a flourishing state: but, in the year 1727, the strong remonstrances of the three great maritime nations compelled the Emperor of Germany to withdraw his charter, and to agree

SECT. VI. that all traffic between his subjects of the Austrian Netherlands and the East Indies should cease for seven years. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the private merchants occasionally sent out ships to India; and, as the Agent of the head of the factory in Bengal was a person of great activity and determination, he continued to furnish them with cargoes.

This traffic, although carried on clandestinely, could not escape the notice of the Dutch and English; the latter of
A.D. 1730. whom, in the year 1730, sent a squadron, under the command of Captain Gosfright, of the ship Fordwich, to blockade the river Ganges. The Commodore sailed up the river; and having obtained intelligence that two Ostend ships were anchored between Calcutta and Bankybazar, despatched two of his squadron to take them. On the first shot being fired, the Saint Theresa, the smallest of the Ostend ships, struck her colours, was immediately taken possession of, and carried to Calcutta; but the other slipped her cable, and took shelter under the guns of Bankybazar factory, whither it was not deemed expedient to follow her; and she afterwards had the good fortune to escape.

Sometime after this event, the Dutch and English united all their influence to prevail upon the Nuwab to prohibit the Germans from trading to Bengal; and, it is said, bribed the Foujedar of Hoogly to make a false representation of the great strength of the fortifications of Bankybazar, and the danger of allowing foreigners to retain a place of such strength within a few miles of the Royal port.

This representation induced the Governor to order the fortifications of Bankybazar to be dismantled: violent disputes in consequence ensued between the German agent and the

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The Nuwab's troops besiege the German factory, A.D. 1733.

Foujedar; and at length a considerable force was sent from Hoogly, under the command of an officer named Meer Jaffier, who surrounded the place on the land side; but acted with so much caution, that he threw up an entrenchment in front of his encampment, to defend his troops from the fire of the besieged; who, in the mean time, completely commanded the river, and only permitted such boats as they pleased to pass. The French at Chandernagore secretly aided the Germans with arms and ammunition, whilst they ostensibly pretended to assist in negotiating a treaty of peace.

Khojeh Fazel Cashmeery, one of the principal Moghul merchants of Hoogly, having also offered his services as a mediator, sent his son with a message to Bankybazar; but the Germans seized the young man, and detained him as a hostage for their own security: and the Foujedar had such an esteem for Khojeh Fazel, that, in order to procure the liberation of the youth, he for some days suspended hostilities: but having procured his liberation, he again renewed the siege with more vigour, both by land and by water; till, at length, provisions becoming very scarce in Bankybazar, all the natives of every description deserted, and left the Europeans to defend themselves. Notwithstanding the garrison was, by this means, reduced to fourteen persons, they continued to serve their guns with such efficacy, that not one of the Moghul troops durst venture out of the entrenchments. At length the Agent had the misfortune to lose his right arm by a cannon ball; after which he embarked, with his men, during the night, and reached in safety one of the ships belonging to his nation, which was at anchor down the river; and shortly after proceeded to Europe.

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A. D. 1733.

In the morning when the Moghul troops took possession of the factory, they found nothing of value in it, but the cannon and a few shells. After levelling the fortifications with the ground, and delivering over Bankybazar to the Zemindar, Meer Jaffier returned in triumph to Hoogly*.

Shujaa Addeen Khan, being of a liberal disposition, and averse to trouble, allowed the English and other Europeans to enjoy the privileges that had been granted to them by the Emperor Ferrokhsere, or by former Governors; and the only dispute that is recorded to have happened during his time, was occasioned by the Foujedar of Hoogly stopping a boat, laden with bales of silk, belonging to the English Company; in consequence of which a party of soldiers was despatched from Calcutta, who terrified the Foujedar, and carried away the silk and other goods which had been stopt. This transaction was represented to the Nuwab as a very heinous offence; and he, in consequence, prohibited the natives from supplying Calcutta, or any of the subordinate factories, with grain. The English were therefore compelled to purchase peace, by the payment of a large sum of money, and by apologising for their misconduct.

It has been previously stated, apparent reconciliation of Shujaa Addeen Khan to the government, he confirmed his son-in-law, Moorshud Cooly, in the appointment of Deputy Nazim of Dacca. Moorshud Cooly employed, as his Dewan, a person

* The whole of these circumstances, respecting the Germans, is stated, by the author translated by Mr. Gladwin, to have happened during the government of Moorshud Cooly Khan; but by Mr. Orme their expulsion is postponed till A. D. 1748. It is however apparent, by the History of the Ostend Company, that their factory was in existence A. D. 1730, and that their last ships left Bengal in 1733. See *Universal History*, vol. XI.

named Meer Hubbeeb, a native of Shiraz in Persia, who had been a broker at Hoogly; and who, although he could neither read nor write, possessed great activity of mind and expertness in business. This man was very industrious in office, and made considerable retrenchments in the boat department and other expensive establishments. He also acquired large sums for his master, by the sale of monopolies; and is said to have treacherously put to death Noor Allah, the zemindar of Jillalpore, on account of his great wealth.

Sometime after this event, a nephew of the Raja of Tipperah, having displeased his uncle, was banished the country. The youth took refuge with a Mohammedan zemindar, named Aka Sadik, and entreated him to assist him in recovering the share of his inheritance. The zemindar being intimately acquainted with Meer Hubbeeb, recommended the cause of the young man to him; and pointed out the favourable opportunity it offered of subjecting Tipperah to the Mohammedan arms.

Tipperah becomes a province of the Moghul empire.

Meer Hubbeeb, having represented the circumstances to his master, obtained permission to proceed with all the troops that were then in the vicinity of Dacca, to effect the object. The Moghul troops crossed the Burhampooter, and entered Tipperah before the Raja was aware of their intentions; and having the young man with them whose cause they espoused, he pointed out to them the road by which they should advance. Aided by such a guide, they reached the capital before the Raja could make any preparation to oppose them: he was obliged to flee to the mountains; and the nephew was raised to the Raje, upon condition of paying a large portion of the revenue to the Governor of Bengal. The whole country, in consequence, quietly submitted: and thus the province of

SECT. VI. Tipperah, which from time immemorial had been an independent kingdom, became annexed to the Moghul empire: and in order to support the young Raja against his uncle, and at the same time to secure his fealty, a considerable number of Mohammedan troops were left in the country, under the command of Aka Sadik, who was nominated Foujedar. On receiving intelligence of this event, the Nuwab was much pleased, and changed the name of Tipperah to Roshenabad* (the Country of Light), and gave to, or procured for, Moorshud Cooly the additional title of Behadur; and to Meer Hubbeeb that of Khan.

A. D. 1733. In the year 1146, Mohammed Tuckee, the illegitimate son of the Nuwab, went from Orissa, to pay his respects to his father; but during his residence at Moorshudabad, disputes ran so high between him and his brother, that each drew out their followers, and would actually have come to a pitched battle, had they not been prevented by the interposition of their father; whose authority, joined to the mediation of the females of the family, effected an apparent reconciliation; and Mohammed returned to Cuttack, where he died in the following year.

A. D. 1734. Upon the death of Mohammed Tuckee Khan, the Nuwab promoted his son-in-law, Moorshud Cooly Khan Behadur, for whom he procured the title of Rustem Jung (the Hercules in battle), to the deputy government of Orissa; who carried with him to that province, his Dewan, Meer Hubbeeb. Through the management of the latter, the revenues of Orissa were considerably increased, and the expenses diminished. During the government of Mohammed Tuckee,

* Probably from the Eastern limit of the Empire. It is still so called in the Public Records.

the Raja of Pursotem had carried away the idol of †Jagernaut across the river Jelkeh (Chilka Lake), beyond the boundary of Orissa, and placed it in a mountain; which circumstance injured the revenue of Orissa to the amount of nine lacs of rupees per annum, being the usual amount of the collection from the pilgrims.

The first care of the new Governor and his indefatigable Dewan, although strict Mohammedans, was to compel the Raja of Pursotem to restore the idol to its antient temple; where it has ever since remained undisturbed; and continues to attract a number of votaries to its shrine, and to enrich the rulers of the province.

When Moorshud Cooly Khan was removed to Orissa, the Nuwab gave the government of Dacca to his son Serferaz Khan; but ordered him to send thither, as his deputy, Syed Ghalib Aly Khan, a person who asserted his descent from the Kings of Persia: he also nominated Jeswont Roy, who had been preceptor to Serferaz Khan, to be Dewan, and to have the actual management of all affairs. The superintendance of the boat department was entrusted to Murad Aly Khan, who was married to a daughter of Serferaz Khan; and who had in his employment an accountant named Rajbullub, of whom more will be hereafter related.

When these officers arrived at Dacca, Jeswont Roy was, in obedience to the Nuwab's orders, invested with the entire management of the revenues. He had been educated under the late Nuwab, Moorshud Cooly Khan, whose example he emulated, in piety, integrity, and indefatigable attention to

† Properly *Jug Nath* (Lord of the World). The temple is situated in the town of Pursotem.

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business; and in forming his arrangements for the benefit of the government, studied to render them conducive to the general ease and happiness of the people. He abolished the monopolies which had been introduced by Meer Hubbeeb, and also the impositions laid upon grain.

It was related, in the account of the government of Shaista Khan, that when he left Dacca to return to Dehly, he built up the western gate, and inscribed over it an execration against any future Governor who should presume to open it till he had reduced the price of grain to a *dumree* per seer, or 640 pounds weight for the rupee. The gate had continued closed to this time; when Jeswont Roy, having succeeded in reducing the price of grain to Shaista Khan's standard, ordered it to be opened.

By the prudent administration of a system of sound policy and humanity, the rich province of Dacca was cultivated in every part, and abounded in every thing requisite for the comfort and gratification of its inhabitants. Justice was administered with impartiality; and the conduct of Ghalib Aly Khan and Jeswont Roy gained great credit to their principal, Serferaz Khan.

As the Nuwab was far advanced in years, he relaxed in his attention to business, and entrusted the management of affairs much to his son; ordering him, however, constantly to consult with Hajy Ahmed, and the other members of his Council. The young man did not, however, comply with this injunction, and the circumstance caused a jealousy to arise between him and the Hajy.

After some time, Nuffeesa Begum, the sister of Serferaz Khan, persuaded her husband to recall Ghalib Aly Khan from

Dacca, and to promote his son-in-law, Murad Aly, to the government. This young man appointed Rajbullub to be Peishkar, or head clerk, of the boat department; and commenced his government with many acts of oppression. Jeswont Roy, the Dewan, who had gained so high a reputation for his conduct, beheld these measures with aversion; and resolving not to be a participator in them, resigned his appointment, and returned to Moorshudabad. Upon his resignation, the new government gave a loose to their rapacity and violence, till they reduced the country to a state of comparative poverty and desolation. A.D. 1737-8.

About this period, Sayid Ahmed, the second son of Hajy Ahmed, who, upon the succession of Shujaa Addeen Khan, had been appointed Foujedar of Rungpore, and who is accused of having ruled that district with great oppression, having procured from Moorshudabad a considerable army, invaded Dinagepore and Couch Beyhar; and after compelling the Rajas to take refuge in the woods and mountains, got possession of those countries, together with the immense treasures which the Rajas and their ancestors had amassed. When intelligence of this event was received at Moorshudabad, the Nuwab was pleased to confer the title of Khan Behadur on Sayid Ahmed*, a circumstance which was exceedingly flattering to the young man's father.

The enemies of this family have asserted, that notwithstanding the numerous benefits conferred on them by Shujaa Addeen Khan, they were constantly plotting to render themselves independent of his son, by sending their wealth to Patna, and by

* This was an assumed power on the part of the Nuwab; and can only be accounted for by the weak state of the Moghul Government, during the reign of Mohammed Shah.

SECT. VI. remitting large sums of money to Dehly, to procure for Aly Verdy Khan, upon the death of the Nuwab, the distinct government of Behar; but of this part of the accusation there does not appear to be any proof. Even had he done so, although moralists might condemn his conduct as a breach of private friendship, he would have been perfectly acquitted by those acquainted with the politics of Hindoostan and the conduct of public men; as it is evident that Serferaz Khan had no more *right* to the government, than the son of the Nobleman who *now* holds that important office has to the succession.

The only attempt at insurrection during the government of Shujaa Addeen Khan, was by the Zemindar of Bheerbhoom, named Budy al Zeman*, who was for a short time in a state of rebellion. He was however quickly reduced, and compelled to pay, in addition to his former revenue, the sum of three lacs of rupees.

At the period that the Persian usurper, Nadir Shah, entered into Hindoostan, and that the Court of Dehly was in a state of the greatest perturbation at his approach, Shujaa Addeen Khan, finding his infirmities daily increase, and that he had but a short time to live, sent to Orissa, Doordaneh Begum the wife, and Yahia the son, of Moorshud Cooly Khan, who, at the instigation of Serferaz Khan, had been detained as hostages for the good conduct of Moorshud Cooly. He then appointed Serferaz Khan his heir, on condition that he would regard the Hajy, the Roy Royan, and Juggut Seat, as the stedfast counsellors of his father, and follow their

* He was the son of Assud Allah, mentioned in page 371; and imitated the conduct of his father.

advice in all affairs of moment. Although Serferaz Khan bore no cordiality towards these men, yet, for fear of offending his dying parent, he promised to obey his commands. A very few days after this event, viz. on the 13th Zilhije 1151, Shujaa Addeen resigned his soul to his Maker, universally regretted, as a man of strict veracity, general philanthropy, and unbounded liberality. Previous to his decease, he had erected a mosque and a mausoleum at Dehpareh, opposite to Moorshudabad, and was buried therein. SECT. VI. A. D. 1739.

## ALLA AD DOWLAH SERFERAZ KHAN.

*Serferaz Khan takes possession of the government—Imitates the conduct of his grandfather, Moorshud Cooly Khan; but much addicted to the pleasures of the Haram—The envoys of Nadir Shah demand the arrears of revenue from Bengal—The Nuwab pays the amount, and coins money bearing Nadir Shah's titles—Dispute between the Nuwab and the banker Juggut Seat—The Nuwab quarrels also with Hajy Ahmed—Conspiracy against the Nuwab—He discovers the plot—Determines to displace Aly Verdy Khan and his connections—Postpones his resolution—Aly Verdy procures a Patent for the government—Marches from Patna—Instance of his policy—Writes to the Nuwab, accusing him of having insulted his family—Serferaz Khan calls his Council—Cunning of Hajy Ahmed—The Nuwab encamps his army—Sends agents to discover Aly Verdy Khan's intentions—Aly Verdy sends an envoy to the Nuwab, but continues his march—The Nuwab, deceived by his letters, allows him to approach within a few miles—Aly Verdy attacks the Nuwab's camp by surprise—The Nuwab mounts his elephant, and rushes into the heat of the engagement—killed by a musquet ball—His troops disperse—Aly Verdy Khan sends his brother, the Hajy, to take possession of Moorshudabad.*

IMMEDIATELY on the decease of his father, Serferaz Khan took possession of the government; but notwithstanding his uncon-

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tested succession, he was so apprehensive of the intrigues of his enemies, that he would not venture out of the fort to attend the funeral obsequies of his father. In obedience to the commands of the late Nuwab, he at first entrusted the management of affairs to Hajy Ahmed, the Roy Royan, and Juggut Seat; but despatched an envoy to Dehly, with a large sum of money, to solicit the confirmation of his appointment.

Serferaz followed the example of his grandfather, Moorshud Cooly Khan, so far as regarded the external forms of devotion, by retaining a number of readers of the Koran, and other religious persons, in his pay: but he assumed a much greater degree of pomp, and was always attended by a select corps of 2000 cavalry. He was also much addicted to the pleasures of the *haram;* and his seraglio is said to have consisted of 1500 women, of various descriptions; amongst whom he dissipated much of his time, and entirely neglected business. In short, all that could be said in his favour was, that he was neither a drunkard nor an oppressor.

Nadir Shah's enters Dehly.

A very short time after Serferaz Khan had taken possession of the government, and before he was confirmed in it, a messenger, sent by the Vizier, Kummer Addeen Khan, announced the arrival of Nadir Shah at Dehly*, and demanded the reve-

* Nadir Shah entered Dehly on the 8th of Zelhije, A. H. 1151, corresponding with the 8th of March 1739. For an account of this invasion, see either *Frazer's History of Nadir Shah;* the 2d volume of the *History of Hindoostan;* or, *Scott's History of the Dekkan.*

Chukl Kirshvur, vakeel or agent of the Nuwab of Bengal, was one of the Committee appointed to raise the contribution in Dehly: being afterwards ill treated, he murdered his whole family, and then put an end to his own existence.

On the 23d of March, an order was made out, that Murid Khan, with fifty of Sirbullind Khan's horsemen, should carry a sirrāpāh and firmān to Shujaa Khan, soubahdar of Bengal, and take from him the three years' treasure, and a peishkush. Accordingly, 1000 rupees

nues of the three last years. Serferaz Khan, by the advice of Hajy Ahmed and the other two counsellors, not only paid the money, but actually ordered coin to be struck, and the Khootbeh to be read from the pulpits, in the name of Nadir Shah. These circumstances were afterwards laid hold of by the enemies of the young Nuwab, to asperse his character, and to render him suspected by the Emperor Mohammed Shah.

In order to account for the animosity which Juggut Seat, the banker, bore Serferaz Khan, it is related, that such was the young Nuwab's passion for beauty, that it could not be restrained within any bounds; and that he having learned that the eldest son of Juggut Seat was married to a woman of exquisite beauty, the curiosity of the Nuwab was so much inflamed, that he insisted on seeing her, although he knew the disgrace which would be fixed on the family by shewing a wife unveiled to a stranger. Neither the remonstrances of Juggut Seat, nor his power to revenge the indignity, availed, to avert the Nuwab from his insolent and futile resolution. The young woman was sent to the palace in the evening; and after staying there a short space, returned, unviolated indeed, but dishonoured, to her husband.

This event was soon after followed by an attempt, on the part of the Nuwab, to compel Hajy Ahmed to break off a marriage, the preliminaries of which had been all adjusted, between two of his grand-children; viz. Mirza Mahmood, the

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were given out of the Shah's treasury, to Murid Khan, for his expenses; and 3220 rupees to the fifty horsemen, for their charges. Murid Khan was accompanied by Mir Tuckee Kuli Beg.—See *Frazer*, page 196.

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son of Sayid Ahmed, who was also adopted by Aly Verdy Khan, and a daughter of 'Attah Allah the son-in-law of the Hajy, and to unite the young lady to his own son. These two circumstances were the cause of much discontent, and afforded the conspirators sufficient ground for complaint. Agents were sent off to Dehly, to bribe the flagitious ministers of Mohammed Shah, to set aside the appointment of Serferaz Khan, and to nominate Aly Verdy Khan to the government of the three provinces. To effect this scheme, they represented, in the blackest colours, the eagerness with which Serferaz Khan had coined the money in the name of, and had proclaimed, Nadir Shah Emperor of Hindoostan. They promised to pay a fine of one crore of rupees; and agreed to remit to Court the whole of the property of Serferaz Khan, amounting, as they supposed, to many crores of rupees; and to forward the amount of the revenues of the three provinces with the same regularity as had been practised in the time of the Nuwab Moorshud Cooly Khan.

Conspiracy against the Nuwab.

At the same time, Hajy Ahmed, and Juggut Seat, by their attention to the young Nuwab, endeavoured to lull him into security; and actually had the address to prevail on him, by way of retrenching his expenses, to disband a considerable part of his army; all of whom immediately repaired to Patna, and were enlisted by Aly Verdy Khan.

At length Serferaz Khan, having received intelligence, from his agents at Dehly, of the plot that was carrying on against him, resolved to counteract their designs; and determined not only to recall Aly Verdy Khan from Behar, but to displace every person of that family from the official situations which

they held*. But these intentions having been secretly discovered by the Hajy and his colleagues, they waited upon the Nuwab, and, with the most downright effrontery, denied the accusation; and, by their solemn protestations of inviolable duty and attachment to his family, prevailed upon him to postpone his new arrangements till the end of the year, when they promised to relinquish their appointments, and to deliver him a faithful account of all their pecuniary transactions. It is stated in the *Sier al Mutakhereen*, that ten months after the departure of Nadir Shah†, through the interest of Isaac Khan, one of the chief counsellors of the Emperor Mohammed Shah, the patents for the government of the three provinces were made out in the name of, and forwarded to, Aly Verdy Khan; who being now resolved on marching against Serferaz Khan, desired an eminent astrologer, on whose predictions he reposed an unlimited confidence, to fix the day for the commencement of his journey: but, in order to deceive the Nuwab, and the other persons to whom he did not yet wish to communicate the secret, he gave out that he was going to march against the refractory zemindars of Boujepore. In the meantime, he intercepted all correspondence between Patna and Moorshudabad, and stopped all travellers on the road. A.D. 1740.

Having appointed his son-in-law, Zyn Addeen, to be his deputy during his absence, and all things being prepared for

* It does not appear, in any of the authorities I have had access to, that Serferaz was ever confirmed in the Government.

† Nadir Shah quitted Dehly, by *Frazer's* Account, on the 6th of May 1739; but by *Scott's*, on the 14th of April, leaving the Government of Hindoostan in a most crippled state. See reign of Mohammed Shah, in vol. II. of *Dow's Hindoostan*, and vol. II. of *Scott's Dekkan*.

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Aly Verdy Khan marches against the Nuwab, March 1740.

his departure, Aly Verdy Khan commenced his march towards Boujepore, in the end of Zilkaad, A. H. 1152; and encamped the first day at Varis Khan's reservoir, on the north-west side of Patna. In the evening, he gave orders to assemble all the principal officers of his army: and when they were collected in his tent, he introduced into the assembly two persons, the one a venerable Musselman of known piety, with the Koran in his hand; the other a Brahman, who held in his right hand a vase of the Ganges water, and in the left, a branch of the sacred *Toolsey*. After a short pause, he conjured the Mohammedans to swear by the glorious Koran; and the Hindoos to affirm, by placing their hands on those sacred emblems; that they would follow him wheresoever he led: that they should consider his enemies as their enemies; his friends as their friends: and that whatever might be his fate, they would stand by him inviolably with their lives and fortunes. So unexpected an address produced the desired effect: the old officers, who had long served under his command, and had received from him numerous favours, set the example, and readily took the oath; and the new ones, not suspecting the stratagem, bound themselves to do as he desired.

Aly Verdy Khan having satisfied his mind on this important subject, disclosed to them the secret of his expedition; and informed them; that forced by the injuries offered to himself, to his brother, and to every individual in their families, he was marching against their oppressor, Serferaz Khan, resolving to put an end to his tyranny. This speech startled many of the officers; but as they had all taken an unconditional oath, there was no room to retreat. It being already

night, the assembly was dismissed; and at day-break the next morning, the whole army marched round the city, and proceeded with much rapidity towards Bengal. Having, by a successful stratagem, gained possession of the passes of Terriagurhy and Sicklygully, Aly Verdy Khan then condescended to write to the Nuwab. The following is said to have been the purport of his letter.

"Exclusive of the many affronts you have offered to "my brother Hajy Ahmed, attempts have been lately "made upon the honour of our family. Your humble "servant, in order to save that family from further dis- "grace, has been obliged to come so far; but with no other "sentiments than those of fidelity and submission. Your "humble servant therefore entreats, that Hajy Ahmed may "be immediately permitted to come to him, with all his family "and dependants."

Serferaz Khan was surprised and confounded at this intelligence, and immediately called a general assembly of his ministers and officers; where having summoned Hajy Ahmed, he accused him of being in league with his brother, and threatened instantly to put him to death. The Hajy, with that coolness and apparent indifference for which he was noted, assured the Nuwab that Aly Verdy Khan had no other intentions than those expressed in the letter; and that if he would permit him to go to his brother, he would prevail on him immediately to return towards Patna. This proposal was variously received by the members of the Council: some of them were of opinion that the Hajy ought not to be trusted; but others, thinking that his detention could be of no consequence, and that it would be better to

SECT. VI. A.D. 1740. put his veracity to the test, prevailed upon the Nuwab to let him depart.

The Hajy lost not a moment in quitting Moorshudabad with all his family; and whilst on his way to meet his brother, he wrote to the Nuwab a letter to the following purport:

"Be assured that Aly Verdy Khan is, in his heart, one "of your most faithful and attached servants; but as he is "now at the head of a powerful army devoted to his cause, "let me persuade your Highness not to oppose his wish, of "paying his respects to you, and of stating his complaints: "think not of moving from your palace, or of marching "against him in hostile array. He is sensible that he has "many enemies in your Court; and should you follow the "advice of those persons, I fear he may, in despair, and "for the preservation of his life and honour, venture upon "some rash step, the consequence of which may be fatal."

Hajy Ahmed joined his brother, while on the march, in the vicinity of Rajemahel; and in order nominally to fulfil the promise he had made the Nuwab, he prevailed upon Aly Verdy to turn his elephant, and to proceed a short distance on the way to Patna.

In the meantime, the Nuwab, having summoned all the Foujedars to his assistance, assembled his troops, and ordered them to encamp on the plain between Gheria and Comra, about twenty-two miles north of Moorshudabad. His army is said to have consisted of 30,000 cavalry and infantry, and a numerous train of artillery. His troops were, however, not equal in courage or discipline to those of Aly Verdy Khan; and the commander of the ordnance, named Shariar Khan,

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a connection of the Hajy's, is accused of having treacherously neglected to take to camp any shot for the guns; but previous to the commencement of hostilities, the plot was discovered; and a Portuguese, named Panchoo, was appointed to command the artillery. On the 22d of Mohurrem, A. H. 1153, A. D. 1740. the Nuwab joined the camp at Comra, but halted there to receive the report of two agents whom he had sent to Aly Verdy Khan to discover his real intentions: these persons shortly returned, and represented that Aly Verdy still professed himself a faithful and attached servant: they were however accompanied by an agent of Aly Verdy's, named Mohammed Aly, who presented a petition from his master; which, after detailing various subjects of complaint, requested that certain persons belonging to the Court, who were his enemies, might be banished, after which he would advance unattended, and pay his respects to the Nuwab; and, in proof of his sincerity, he sent by the agent a case, said to contain a Koran upon which he had sworn to adhere to his engagement*.

Aly Verdy Khan having arrived within twelve miles of the Nuwab's camp without receiving any answer to his petition, again sent another messenger, to request the Nuwab's forgiveness, and to state his intention of paying his respects the following day: the Nuwab was deceived by this stratagem, and gave orders that an elegant entertainment should be prepared for the occasion: the troops of the Nuwab also, understanding that matters were to be amicably settled, were totally off their guard.

In the evening, Aly Verdy Khan issued orders to his troops for the attack: he divided his army into three columns; one

* The enemies of Aly Verdy state, that the case did not contain a Koran, but a brick covered with cloth of gold.

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of which had directions to proceed during the night, and get into the rear of the Nuwab's camp; and upon hearing the attack of the other two columns in front, to unite their efforts. At the dawn of day, Aly Verdy Khan, having advanced to the skirts of the Nuwab's camp unperceived, opened a cannonade. One of the first balls, passing through Serferaz Khan's tent, rouzed him from his lethargy, and awakened him to a sense of his danger and the perfidy of his enemy: he however, in the most undaunted manner, mounted his elephant; and calling to his troops to follow him, advanced towards Aly Verdy Khan.

The elephant driver, seeing that very few of the troops were following him, represented to the Nuwab the danger of his situation, and requested permission to carry him off the field to Beerbhoom; the Zemindar of which district being very powerful, and the country by nature strong, would afford him a safe refuge till he could be joined by his friends. Serferaz Khan, who was worthy of a better fate, spurned at this advice, and ordered the driver to carry him into the thickest of the enemy. He had nearly expended the whole of his quiver of arrows, when a musquet ball struck him in the forehead, and sent his soul to the mansions of eternity. As soon as this event was known, the troops, with the exception of a body of Afghans under Ghows Khan, fled on all sides. Meer Hubbeeb, the Dewan of Moorshud Cooly, who had joined the army with the quota of troops from Orissa, immediately rode off, with his followers, towards home; literally fulfilling the proverb,—

The Nuwab slain in battle.

"He that fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day."

During the plundering of the camp, Serferaz Khan's elephant driver, unperceived by the enemy, conveyed the corpse to

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Moorshudabad; and at midnight, his son Mirza Amany caused it to be buried in a private manner at Nekteh Kholly. Mirza Amany, and Yeasseen Khan the Foujedar, made preparations to defend the city; but the troops refusing to support them, they were obliged to submit to the conqueror, who immediately despatched his brother, Hajy Ahmed, to secure the family and treasures of the deceased, and to assure the inhabitants of his protection and favour.

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## NUWAB, SHUJAA AL MOOLK, HISSAM AD DOWLAH, MOHAMMED ALY VERDY KHAN BEHADUR, MOHABUT JUNG.

*Aly Verdy Khan takes possession of the Government—His hypocritical conduct—Sends large sums of money and valuable presents to the Emperor, and to the Viziers, at Dehly—Confirmed in the government—Obtains additional titles for himself, his three Sons-in-law, and his Grandsons—Distributes the public offices to them and his other dependants—Assigns an allowance for the support of the family of the late Nuwab—Alarmed by the approach of a Messenger from Court to demand the treasure and effects of Serferaz Khan—Political conduct on this occasion—Resolves to place one of his own dependants in the deputy-government of Orissa—Gives notice to Moorshud Cooly Khan, brother-in-law of the late Nuwab, to quit that province—Moorshud Cooly refuses—Aly Verdy, in consequence, marches towards Orissa—Moorshud Cooly advances to Ballasore—An engagement takes place—Moorshud Cooly defeated—Retires on board a ship to Masulipatam—Aly Verdy proceeds to Cuttack—Settles the affairs of that province—Appoints his son-in-law, Sayid Ahmed, to the government—The new Governor gives offence to the people, who rise and take him prisoner; and choose for their governor, Baukir Khan—Aly Verdy Khan again marches to Orissa—Defeats the rebels, and retakes his Son-in-law—Appoints Mohammed Mausoom Deputy-governor of the province—Returns towards Bengal—The Mahrattas of Berar suddenly invade Bengal—Surround the*

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*Nuwab at Burdwan—The Nuwab effects his retreat to Cutwa—The Mahrattas, led on by Meer Hubbeeb, plunder Moorshudabad—The Nuwab returns to Moorshudabad—The Mahrattas get possession of all the countries on the west of the Bhagarutty river—The English dig an entrenchment round Calcutta—The Nuwab unexpectedly attacks, and defeats, the Mahrattas—Pursues them to Midnapore—Again defeats them, and drives them out of Orissa—Suffder Junger, governor of Oude, ordered by the Emperor to assist Aly Verdy Khan—advances as far as Patna—Aly Verdy, jealous of his power, declines his assistance, and requests him to return home—Bengal at once invaded by two Mahratta armies—Aly Verdy bribes those of Poona, to assist him in expelling the Berar troops—They return the following year—The Nuwab enters into a treaty with them; and invites Boskar Raow, the General, to an interview—Assassinates him, and a number of the Berar officers—Hajy Ahmed quarrels with his brother, and retires to Patna—Mustapha Khan, the Nuwab's General, mutinies—Marches away without permission—Plunders Rajemahel, and takes possession of Mongeir—Advances towards Patna—Opposed by the Deputy-governor of Behar—Aly Verdy Khan pursues the rebels—Engagement between the Governor of Behar and the rebels—Mustapha Khan wounded—Retires to Chunar—The Berar Mahrattas again invade Bengal—Aly Verdy Khan returns to Moorshudabad—Enters into a feigned negotiation with the Mahratta Chief—The Mahrattas retreat—The Nuwab dismisses the remainder of the Afghans from his service—Celebrates the marriages of his Grandsons—Sends an army, under Meer Jaffier Khan, to expel the Afghans from Orissa—An Army of Mahrattas again invade Orissa, and compel Jaffier Khan to retreat—The Nuwab sends a reinforcement to him, under the command of Atta Allah—These two Chiefs conspire to depose Aly Verdy Khan—The Plot discovered—The two Chiefs compelled to quit the army—The Nuwab defeats the Mahrattas—An insurrection by the Afghans, in Behar—The insurgents murder the Nuwab's brother and son-in law, and plunder their property—Aly Verdy Khan marches against the rebels, although surrounded by the Mahrattas—The rebels unite with the Mahrattas—The Nuwab engages their united forces—Gives them a total defeat—*

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*Advances to Patna, and appoints his grandson, Seraje ad Dowlah, Governor; Raja Janky Ram, Deputy-governor of Behar; and Sayid Ahmed, Foujedar of Purneah—Returns to Moorshudabad—The Mahrattas return to Berar, but leave a detachment in Cuttack—The Nuwab marches to Cuttack; but not being able to overtake the Mahrattas, returns to Midnapore—Seraje ad Dowlah rebels, and attemps to seize Patna—Defeated and taken prisoner—Delivered up to the Nuwab, who forgives him—Aly Verdy Khan returns to Moorshudabad; and, for two years, in vain pursues the Mahrattas—Agrees to yield to them the province of Cuttack; and to pay them twelve lacs of rupees per annum, as the Choute of Bengal—The Nuwab encourages the improvement of the country—His two sons, Nuazish Mohammed and Sayid Ahmed, die—The Nuwab taken ill—Dies—His character.*

ALY VERDY KHAN was sensible that if he had marched his troops into the city of Moorshudabad, immediately after the victory, it would have been impossible to have restrained them from plundering the effects and treasure of Serferaz Khan. He therefore halted, that and the following day, on the field of battle; but on the morning of the third day, being about the 15th of Suffer 1153, proceeded in great state towards the city; A.D. 1740. and upon his entering it, instead of going to the palace, he went to the residence of Zynet al Nissa, the daughter of Moorshud Cooly, and mother of Serferaz Khan; and having, at the gate, alighted from his elephant, he made a profound obeisance; and sent, by one of the eunuchs, a most respectful message to the Begum, to solicit her forgiveness. The message is said to have been couched in the following terms:

"That which was predetermined in the book of Fate has "come to pass, and the ingratitude of your worthless servant "is now recorded on the unfading page of History; but he

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"swears, that as long as life shall last, he will never more "swerve from the path of respect, or the duties of submission. "He hopes that the vileness of his misdeeds shall in time be "effaced from your forgiving mind; and that you will conde- "scend to accept, in extenuation of his crimes, these demon- "strations of perfect obedience to your commands, and tokens "of his most dutiful attachment."

During the time he was delivering this message, he seemed greatly affected; but as no answer was returned, he again mounted his elephant, and proceeded to the *Chehel Setoon*, a palace built by Shujaa Addeen Khan for public ceremonies, which was surrounded by a colonnade of forty pillars; and immediately upon entering the hall of audience, he took possession of the musnud of state, and received the offerings and congratulations of all the persons present; while the event was proclaimed to the city by a royal salute from the artillery, and by the sounds of martial music.

Having taken possession of the treasures of the unfortunate Serferaz Khan, which had accumulated to an immense amount by the savings of his father and grandfather, Aly Verdy Khan sent a crore of rupees in specie, and to the amount of seventy lacs in jewels, plate, silks, and muslins, as offerings to the Emperor Mohammed Shah and his viziers: and the former, in return for this proof of his obedience and loyalty, shortly after confirmed him in the government of the three provinces, and conferred on him the rank of commander of 7000 horse, with the additional titles of Shujaa al Moolk, and Hissam ad Dowlah. Titles of honour were also conferred on his three sons-in-law; viz. on the eldest, Nuazish Mohammed, that of Shehamut Jung; on Sayid Ahmed, the second, that of

Sowlut Jung; and on Zyn Addeen, the youngest, that of Shokut Jung*. For his grandson, Mirza Mahmoud, son of Zyn Addeen, whom he had adopted as his heir, he procured the title of Seraje ad Dowlah, Shah Cooly Khan, Behadur; and for the younger brother of the latter, the title of Akrem ad Dowlah. And that these titles should be supported with proper dignity, the Nuwab conferred on Nuazish Mohammed the government of Dacca, to which he annexed the districts of Silhet, Tipperah, and Chittagong, with permission to perform the office by deputy. Zyn Addeen he confirmed in the government of Behar: and to Sayid Ahmed he promised the government of Orissa, as soon as it could be secured. To his other relations and dependants he gave various employments, and bestowed on them large sums of money, from the treasures of his predecessor.

The wives and two sons of Serferaz Khan were sent to Dacca, and a handsome allowance assigned for their support; but the numerous concubines of the deceased were permitted to provide for themselves. Nuffiesah Begum, the sister of the deceased, condescended to take on herself the office of superintendant of Nuazish Mohammed's seraglio, provided she was allowed to adopt for her heir a posthumous son of her brother, named Aka Baba. Her excuse for thus demeaning herself was, that she might thereby be of service to her brother's family; and so scrupulous was she in her conduct, that she was never seen by Nuazish, who used to converse with her on business through a curtain.

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* These titles are all synonymous, meaning *the Formidable in War*. It is requisite these titles should be remembered by the Oriental scholar.

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After these arrangements, and when Aly Verdy Khan considered himself firmly fixed in his government, he was alarmed by intelligence, that Mohammed Shah, dissatisfied with the sum that had been remitted to Dehly as the amount of Serferaz Khan's estate, had despatched an officer, named Mureed Khan, not only to demand the whole of the treasures, but the amount of two years' revenues which were due; but being ever fertile in expedients, he immediately wrote to that officer, not to take the trouble of coming so far as Bengal, as he would do himself the honour of meeting him at Rajemahel, and deliver to him the residue of the late Governor's property. The letter, besides, is supposed to have contained a draft for a large sum of money on his banker at Patna, for Mureed Khan's private use, and had the desired effect of inducing him to halt there for some weeks.

Aly Verdy Khan took with him some lacs of rupees, in specie, seventy lacs in jewels, much gold and silver furniture, a quantity of precious stuffs, and a number of elephants and horses, and proceeded with considerable expedition to Rajemahel, where he delivered the above articles to Mureed Khan; and having made that officer some valuable presents, prevailed upon him to give a receipt for the effects, and to return to Dehly, without coming to any settlement with regard to the arrears of revenue.

The next object of the Nuwab's solicitude was, to dispossess Moorshud Cooly Khan, the son-in-law of Shujaa Addeen Khan, of the government of Orissa. It has been before stated, that when Serferaz Khan collected his army, to oppose Aly Verdy Khan, the troops of Orissa had joined him, under the command of Meer Hubbeeb, who had given such a specimen of

his abilities at Dacca; but that these troops had not taken any part in the battle of Gheria, and on the death of Serferaz Khan had retired precipitately to Orissa.

Shortly after that event, Moorshud Cooly, sensible of his inability to oppose Aly Verdy Khan, sent an envoy to him, to discover what were his intentions, and to endeavour to negotiate a treaty of amity with him: but the Nuwab, entertaining suspicions of his sincerity, desired the envoy to inform his master, that he had no animosity against him, and that it was far from his inclination to injure him, but that his remaining in the government of Orissa was impossible: he therefore requested that he would retire from that province, with all his property and family, by whatever route he chose, and that he should meet with no molestation.

The Governor of Orissa, being an unambitious character, would willingly have accepted his offer; but his wife, Doordaneh Begum, and his courtiers, rejected it with disdain, and compelled Moorshud Cooly to send a letter of defiance to his adversary.

The challenge was immediately accepted; and Aly Verdy Khan, having selected from his army 12,000 of the most efficient troops, left his brother, the Hajy, in charge of the government, and proceeded towards Orissa.

On intelligence of his approach*, Moorshud Cooly Khan having summoned his friends to a consultation, laid his sabre

* Jonathan Scott, Esq. author of the *History of the Dekkan*, having compiled the Life of Aly Verdy Khan from the same materials as are in my possession, I have taken the liberty of using his narrative for a great part of the remainder of this Chapter; retaining the original names, instead of the titles, the number and frequent change of which are very perplexing in Oriental history. The Life of Aly Verdy Khan, as detailed in the *Sier ul Mutakhereen*, would alone make a considerable-sized volume.

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before them; and after inveighing against the usurpation and treachery of Aly Verdy Khan, declared his intentions of opposing him, should they be firm in their support and attachment; but otherwise, to retire to some place of security with his family. The assembly unanimously assured him of their fidelity, and readiness to engage in war; and the chiefs of the army, at his request, regirt the sabre round his waist. After this, having sent his family and treasure to the fort of Barabutty*, he moved from Cuttack; and advancing beyond Balasore, encamped in a strong situation, surrounded by thick woods and a river, fortifying his camp with nearly three hundred pieces of cannon.

Aly Verdy Khan speedily arrived on the bank of the river, within a few miles of the enemy; and halted long, being incapable of dislodging him from his secure position. In this situation his camp was but ill supplied with provisions, the zemindars being attached to Moorshud Cooly Khan, and cutting off the Nuwab's convoys, so that his troops soon began to murmur. Meerza Baukir Khan, learning the dissatisfaction of the Nuwab's army, imprudently moved from his camp, contrary to the remonstrances of Moorshud Cooly Khan, and offered battle; which was gladly accepted by Aly Verdy Khan. The engagement was long and bloody, but finally decided in favour of the latter. Moorshud Cooly Khan, his son-in-law, and chief dependants, made good their retreat to Balasore; from whence they embarked on board ships, and arrived safely at Massulipatam, on the coast of Coromandel, where they were generously received by the Foujedar, Anwer ad Dien Khan. The Raja of Ruttenpore, on the borders of Orissa, hearing of their

* This fort was taken by the British troops, on the 14th of October 1803. See *Annual Asiatic Register*, 1803.

flight, with a magnanimous humanity detached a force to Cuttack, and brought off their families and treasure in safety to his residence, where he delivered them to Baukir Khan, who was sent to receive them.

Aly Verdy Khan, after his victory, marched to Cuttack; and having arranged the affairs of the province, entrusted the government to his nephew, Sayid Ahmed, the second son of Hajy Ahmed. He then returned to Moorshudabad, and employed himself in regulating the concerns of Bengal, in which he consulted the ease and satisfaction of the public.

Sayid Ahmed, in his government of Cuttack, did not act with that prudence becoming his situation. He vexed the adherents of Moorshud Cooly Khan, who had remained in the province under promise of not being molested in their estates by fines and extortion, on pretence that they had secreted money belonging to their late chief; and, being much addicted to pleasure, was guilty of excesses in procuring women for his *haram* from the inhabitants. To these oppressions he added an impolitic neglect of the troops stationed with him by his uncle, in lessening their pay to garrison allowance, which gave great disgust, so that numbers left his service. Their places he filled with natives of Cuttack, who, for the satisfaction of living at home, accepted of a trifling salary. These men were secretly attached to the late Governor, whose son-in-law now resided on the borders of the province, in hopes of opportunity offering to renew his attempts. The conduct of Sayid Ahmed becoming daily more oppressive to the people, they at length invited Moorshud Cooly Khan to return; but he was too fond of his present retirement to hazard his person, and rejected their offers. They then had recourse to Baukir Khan, who

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gladly accepted their promises of support; and measures were so secretly contrived, that the Governor was suddenly taken prisoner in his palace in a general insurrection of the people, and delivered to Baukir Khan, who assumed the government of Cuttack.

Aly Verdy Khan, on intelligence of this event, lost no time in preparing to remedy the disaster. His brother Hajy, and the mother of Sayid Ahmed, apprehensive for the safety of their son, would have prevailed upon him to give up Orissa to Baukir Khan, on promise of allegiance; and attributed the success of the latter to aids he had received from Nizam al Moolk, whom it would be impolitic to displease, as it might bring upon him the force of the Dekkan, and the loss of Bengal; but he paid no attention to their advice. In a short time his forces were ready; and having left his son-in-law, Nuazish, in the command of Moorshudabad, he began his march, at the head of twenty thousand horse and foot. As an encouragement to his chiefs, he had ordered them to make considerable additions to their corps; and promised a reward of a lac of rupees to the person who should recover Sayid Ahmed from captivity; and if he should be the commander of a corps, to give two months' pay additional to each man.

Baukir Khan, on the approach of the Nuwab, entrenched himself on the banks of the Mahanuddee; but having little hope of success against so powerful an enemy, sent off his baggage and family to the Dekkan. Resolved that Sayid Ahmed should not survive his defeat, he placed him in a covered *rutt**, under the charge of two Moghuls, who had orders to kill him,

* A carriage drawn by oxen.

should the troops of the Nuwab pursue and come up with them. To make his death the surer, he privately ordered the escort of horse who guarded the carriage, on the approach of an enemy, to thrust their spears into it, and destroy both the victim and the executioners. The Nuwab attacked the entrenchments of Baukir Khan, who was deserted in an instant by his troops, too much intimidated to make resistance; and the victors pursued so closely, that they speedily overtook the escort of Sayid Ahmed; when numerous spears were thrust into the carriage, and one of the Moghuls was killed; but Sayid Ahmed escaped unhurt, by the wounded man's falling upon him. The other Moghul was slightly wounded; and made his escape, while the pursuers were releasing their recovered prince. Aly Verdy Khan, having returned thanks for his easy victory, and the safety of his nephew from such imminent danger, sent him, with a considerable force for his protection, to his parents at Moorshudabad, not thinking it prudent to entrust him again with the government of Cuttack. The women and family of Sayid Ahmed, who had been detained prisoners in a fortress, were released, on news of the victory, by the garrison, and escorted safely to him. The Nuwab, having regulated the affairs of the recovered province, gave charge of it to an officer of experience, named Mohammed Masoom Khan; and apprehending no new danger near, very impolitically and unjustly disbanded his new levies, and permitted most of the troops to retire to their homes; while he, with only his principal chiefs and about five thousand horse, marched slowly towards his capital, enjoying the amusement of hunting on the way: but this calm was suddenly overcast by storms, which threatened his destruction, and the desolation of the provinces.

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The Mahrattas invade Bengal, A. D. 1741-2.

Aly Verdy Khan was encamped near Midnapore, when intelligence arrived that Boskar Pundit had been detached by Ragojee Bhoselah, the Mahratta chief of Berar, at the head of forty thousand horse, to demand the *choute* of Bengal, and was rapidly advancing toward him*; but the Nuwab, not expecting that they would enter by Orissa, was little alarmed at the report; as he had received advice of their intention to pass through Behar; and had intended, on his return to the capital, to take measures to resist them, for which he fancied he should have ample time, before they could reach that province. In this, however, he was mistaken, as an express suddenly arrived that the enemy was within twenty coss of his camp. The Nuwab upon this hastened his march to Burdwan, a considerable town, intending to place in it his heavy baggage, and engage the Mharattas. Shortly after his arrival, they appeared, and laid waste the environs of the camp with fire and sword. Some skirmishes took place, with little loss on either side; the enemy, whose object was plunder only, not chusing to risk a general action. Some days passed in this manner, when Boskar Raow proposed evacuating the country for a contribution of ten lacs of rupees; but this was refused; and Aly Verdy Khan resolved to push his way to Moorshudabad, where he could recruit his scattered force. He issued orders for the greatest part of the heavy baggage and camp followers to

* It does not appear what was the object of the Berar Mahrattas; whether to conquer Bengal, to plunder it, or to establish the *choute* or claim for the fourth part of the revenues, as, owing to the weakness of the Moghul government, they had done in several other provinces. Aly Verdy Khan suspected they had been instigated by the Nizam, who, a short time previous, had established his independent authority at Hyderabad, and was supposed to be jealous of the rising power of the Governor of Bengal. For the origin of the Berar Mahrattas, see Lord Wellesley's *Mahratta War*.

remain at Burdwan, but in vain, as they were too much alarmed to trust themselves in the town; but the consequence of their disobedience was nearly fatal. On the first day's march, the Mahrattas surrounded the line; and Aly Verdy Khan, unable to defend the numerous crowd of useless attendants, and market people of his army, now reduced to less than five thousand fighting men, had the mortification of losing the chief part of his baggage, artillery, and tents. When he halted for the night, only a small tent could be procured for his reception. He now despatched a messenger with offers to pay the ten lacs of rupees to the Mahrattas; but Boskar Raow refused, and demanded a crore†, with all the elephants belonging to the Nuwab. Aly Verdy refused such degrading concessions; and the next day proceeded on his march, which was harassed as usual; and what little baggage remained, fell a prey to the enemy, who, however, could make no impression on the main body, and were often repulsed from the charge. For three days a running fight was kept up, during which the greatest distress for provisions and shelter from heavy rain was experienced by the troops of Aly Verdy Khan. On the fourth he reached Cutwa, which the Mahrattas had laid waste, and had destroyed large magazines of grain by fire; but enough remained, though in a parched state, to be an acceptable supply to an army almost perishing with hunger. Here the Nuwab encamped, on the bank of the river Bhagarutty, secured by his position from further insult of the enemy; and having written to his capital of the situation he was in, Nuazish Mohammed joined him expeditiously with a considerable

† Upwards of a million sterling.

SECT. VI. reinforcement, and plentiful supplies of provisions from the opposite bank of the river, which was yet unmolested by the enemy.

Boskar Pundit, the Mahratta general, from the fear of passing the rains in the country of an enemy who had so gallantly opposed him, would have now retreated to Berar; but Meer Hubbeeb, who during the first invasion of Orissa had abandoned his former master, and taken employment with Aly Verdy Khan, and who, having been taken prisoner, had accepted the service of the Mahrattas, advised him to remain, offering to provide subsistence for his army, and to guide a detachment to Moorshudabad, which might easily be plundered, it being unfortified. Boskar relished his proposal, and en-
April, 1742. trusted him with the command of some thousand horse. The Nuwab, having intelligence of this design, left Cutwa, and hastened to the capital; where he arrived one day after Meer Hubbeeb, who had already plundered the suburbs, especially the bank of Juggut Seat, to the amount of three lacs of rupees. On the arrival of Aly Verdy Khan, he retreated, and prevailed on Boskar to encamp at Cutwa for the rainy season; and the Nuwab, satisfied with having preserved the city from plunder, deferred further operations till he could recruit his army, and strengthen the capital by new works. The enemy, while the fords permitted, advanced two or three times to Plassy and Daoodpore, not many miles distant from Moorshudabad; plundering the villages, till the swelling of the Bhagarutty confined them to the opposite shore. During the rains, Boskar Pundit, by means of Meer Hubbeeb, possessed himself of Hoogly, Injalee, and all the districts of Burdwan and Midnapore, as far as Balasore; also Bheerbhoom, Raje-

shahy, and Rajemahel; so that, except Moorshudabad and its environs, nothing remained to the Nuwab west of the Ganges; but the districts to the east of that river still afforded him ample resources. The inhabitants of the capital, during the rainy season, for the most part moved with their families and effects, for the greater security, across the Ganges. The families, treasures, and valuables of the Nuwab and his relations were also sent over that river to Godagauree, under the care of Nuazish Mohammed, who returned to the capital after he had provided a place of safety for them. SECT. VI. A. D. 1742.

During the invasion of the Mahrattas, crowds of the inhabitants of the country on the western side of the river crossed over to Calcutta, and implored the protection of the English; who, in consequence of the general alarm, obtained permission from Aly Verdy Khan to dig an entrenchment round their territory. This work, had it been completed, would have extended seven miles. In six months, three miles of it were finished; when the inhabitants, finding that the Mahrattas did not approach Calcutta, desisted from the work; but the remains of it are still to be seen, and are called the Mahratta Ditch. The English at the same time obtained permission to build a brick wall round their factory at Cossimbazar, with bastions at the angles*.

Aly Verdy Khan passed the rainy season in raising new levies, and encouraging his troops; to whom he distributed ten lacs of rupees, which he had promised them when surrounded by the Mahrattas. The dry weather had not yet commenced, when he marched from Moorshudabad, and crossed the Bhagarutty over a bridge of boats, without opposition from the October, 1742.

* *Orme's Indostan.*

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enemy, who still continued in their camp at Cutwa, which was divided from the Nuwab's army by a deep rivulet, much swollen by the rains. Aly Verdy Khan during the night ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown across it, which was done without being perceived by the enemy. About midnight, Meer Jaffier Khan, Mustapha Khan, and other chiefs, at the head of a chosen body, began to cross. Half of this detachment had scarcely reached the opposite bank, when a boat in the middle of the bridge was loosened, and sunk by the weight of passengers; and the troops in the rear pressing on, numbers were pushed in and drowned, before the accident was discovered. Six hundred men are said to have perished in this manner; but such was the ardour of the troops and spirited conduct of the Nuwab, that the accident was soon repaired, and by daylight the whole army had crossed, and prepared to attack the enemy. Boskar Raow was so intimidated at this bold and unexpected measure, that he fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving great part of his baggage and tents behind him; but was so rapidly pursued, as to lose a considerable number of men within four miles of Cutwa, where he tried to make a stand, but in vain, his troops flying on the Nuwab's approach. He continued his retreat to the woods of Pacheet; and was followed by Aly Verdy Khan so closely, that finding it impossible to gain the passes by this route, he changed it, by advice of Meer Hubbeeb, and returned into the forests of Bishenpore; by which he deceived his pursuers, and gained the open country, by way of Chunderkoona into Midnapore. Here he encamped, and detached a force against Cuttack, which was but ill defended by troops; and the governor, Masoom Khan, rashly marching out with his small force, was defeated and slain.

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Aly Verdy Khan having at last procured intelligence of the change of the enemy's route, marched back, and hastened to Burdwan. From thence he advanced to Midnapore, where Boskar Raow gave him battle, but was defeated with great slaughter, and fled, by way of Cuttack, to the borders of his own country. The Nuwab, not thinking it necessary to pursue beyond his own territories, now completely evacuated by the enemy, entrusted the government of Cuttack to Abd al Russool Khan, and returned triumphantly to his capital. A. D. 1742.

Aly Verdy Khan, on the first invasion of the Mahrattas, had applied to the Emperor for assistance; and Suffder Jung, Nuwab of Oude, was ordered with his troops into Bengal, but had advanced no farther than Patna, the capital of Behar, when Boskar Raow was defeated. Aly Verdy Khan, encouraged by victory, now thought himself fully equal to the defence of his provinces; and informing Suffder Jung that he had no further occasion for succours, requested him to quit Patna and return home; which he did, though with some reluctance, having intended, it is said, had Aly Verdy Khan been worsted by his enemy, to have added Behar to his own government. During his stay at Patna, he had selected some pieces of artillery and elephants belonging to the Deputy-governor, for his own use, without the consent of Aly Verdy Khan; and he, not relishing such acts of authority in an auxiliary, was much offended; so that a coolness took place between them; and had not Suffder Jung thought proper to retreat, in all probability an open rupture would have soon succeeded his refusal. Dec. 1742.

The attempts of the Mahrattas on Bengal did not end with the defeat of Boskar Raow. Ragojee Bhosela, enraged at the

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repulse of his general, immediately prepared a new army, at the head of which he entered Bengal. At the same time, Ballajee Raow*, the principal of the Mahratta chiefs of Poona, advanced with a considerable force, to receive payment of a draft of eleven† lacs of rupees, given by the Emperor on Aly Verdy Khan, but with professed declarations of affording his assistance to him against the Berar troops. Ragojee having entered the country by way of Bheerboom, fixed his head quarters in the district of Burdwan, while Ballajee marched through Behar to the bank of the Bhagarutty, not very far from the capital. Aly Verdy Khan advanced to meet him, and an interview took place, at which it was agreed that both armies should act in conjunction against Ragojee. It is supposed the Nuwab paid a great sum for his alliance with this Mahratta general, whose coming to Bengal is variously accounted for. Some attribute it to the Emperor's orders, in consequence of the request of Aly Verdy Khan; others, to the Royal anger at his usurpation of the government; but it is more probable that Ballajee was allured by the prospect of obtaining a considerable plunder in Bengal, and gratifying his enmity against the Berar chief, than that he shewed any regard to Mohammed Shah's approbation or dislike of the conduct of Aly Verdy Khan. Both armies now marched to expel Ragojee from Burdwan, and continued together for some days: when Ballajee, not liking the slow movement of the Bengal troops, took upon himself the punishment of the Berar chief, and left the Nuwab. Ragojee,

* Ballajee and Ragojee at this time were at enmity, as rivals for the Peshwaship, or ministry of the Mahratta states.

† One hundred and ten thousand pounds.

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as his rival advanced, fled to his own country; and Aly Verdy Khan, having thus prudently cleared the provinces of his enemy, returned to Moorshudabad: but though he did not in this campaign suffer loss in the field, that of the revenue was great, as the unfortunate inhabitants of the defenceless villages were plundered without mercy by both the Mahratta armies; nor were their calamities yet at an end from the invaders.

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Ragojee, the year following, again sent Boskar Raow from Berar, at the head of twenty thousand horse, to invade Bengal; but with orders to offer peace, should the Nuwab submit to pay a heavy contribution, as he had done to Ballajee. Aly Verdy Khan, on their approach, moved with his army, and encamped at Munkirra, only ten miles from his capital; having it in contemplation to take advantage of the desire his enemy had for money, to allure the principal chiefs to an interview by promises of large sums, and to cut them off by treachery; which if effected, it would then be easy to vanquish an army deprived of its leaders. With such views, he despatched Mustapha Khan and Raja Janegee Ram to the Mahratta camp, with proposals of peace; and an invitation to Boskar Raow to come to an interview, should the terms of friendship be accepted. Boska Raow demanded heavy contributions; to which the agents readily consented, provided he would visit the Nuwab, who at the same time daily sent him friendly letters and valuable presents. At length, the Mahratta, blinded by avarice, consented, and a day was appointed. The Nuwab having communicated his intentions to his nephew Sayid Ahmed, Jaffier Khan, and Fakier Allah Beg, commanded them to select a confidential band of men, and draw them up within the skreens round the tent of audience, with orders to rush upon

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Boskar and his attendants, upon a signal which he appointed, promising liberal rewards for their obedience. At length, the day fixed being arrived, Boskar Raow moved from Cutwa with the greatest part of his army; and on his arrival near the Nuwab's encampment, leaving his troops drawn up in order of battle, advanced with other principal chiefs and his attendants. The Bengal troops were drawn up to receive him. Near the tent of audience he dismounted, and entered the inclosure of skreens with his companions, supported by Mustapha Khan and Raja Janegee Ram, who soon after, however, contrived to quit him. As the Mahratta chief advanced, Aly Verdy Khan eagerly inquired, which was Boskar Raow; and on his being pointed out, cried out with a loud voice, "Cut down the infidel!" In an instant, the appointed band rushed on their victims; and Boskar Raow, with nineteen officers of rank, were slaughtered. The Nuwab now mounted his elephant*; and putting himself at the head of his troops, furiously charged the Mahratta line; which, not expecting an attack, and deprived of their generals, was immediately routed. Aly Verdy Khan pursued the enemy to Cutwa, their standing camp, which had been left under the command of Ragoo Gicowaur, who had uniformly refused to accompany Boskar to the fatal interview. Being informed of the fate of his General, he fled with precipitation, and evacuated the provinces without attempting to revenge the massacre.

* The following anecdote is related, of Aly Verdy Khan's coolness. During the conflict in the tent, he was requested by his attendants to retire and mount his elephant; but one of his slippers could not be found, and he refused to go till it was brought. A person said, "Is this a time to look for slippers?" "No," replied he; "but were I to go without them, "it would hereafter be said—Aly Verdy Khan was in such a hurry to get away, that he "left his slippers behind him."

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Aly Verdy Khan returned to Moorshudabad; and having distributed ten lacs of rupees, as a gratuity to the troops, conferred liberal rewards on those chiefs who had assisted mostly in the completion of his insidious and bloody victory. Hajy Ahmed, about this time, being offended at his brother for refusing him the foujedary of Hoogly, (though he had a greater revenue than he could expend; and the office he desired was conferred on his own son Sayid Ahmed, who had been without any consequential employment since his unfortunate administration at Cuttack,) retired in disgust to Patna, where he devoted himself, in his old age, to sensual enjoyments.

The Nuwab, now freed from foreign enemies, was assiduously employed in the regulation of his provinces, and forming plans for the repair of that desolation which the Mahrattas had spread through all the districts west of the river Ganges; but a storm soon arose within his own dominions, which was more threatening to his power than the armies of the Dekkan. He had, in order to attach his chiefs to his interest during the war, been lavish of his favours, and more so of promises of future rewards to them; but which, now finding inconvenient to fulfil, he broke, thereby giving offence to many, but particularly to his principal general Mustapha Khan.

This chief had been constantly the principal counsellor and agent of Aly Verdy Khan. To his fidelity and valour he in great measure owed his acquisition of the musnud of Bengal, and his success over the Mahratta invaders. To his address he was indebted also for the decisive but treacherous blow given to his enemies, by the late assassination of Boskar Raow and his officers: and it is said that for this last service he had

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promised him the government of Behar, which was held by his nephew and son-in-law, Zyn Addeen. The General was urgent for the performance of his promise; and made the demand in such a manner, as shewed he rather esteemed himself the partner in authority, than the servant of the Nuwab. He interfered also, by his recommendations of persons to office, with the plans of the Nuwab, who granted many favours to his importunity: but every compliance was instantly succeeded by new requests; so that the Nuwab was in danger of becoming a tool in the hands of his General, a situation which his high spirit could not brook. To such a pitch had Mustapha Khan carried his influence, that the zemindars of Bengal, when pushed for payment of the revenue by the collectors, or when they had been guilty of any breach of the regulations, bribed him to skreen them from the resentment of the Nuwab; who, to please the General, often repealed his own orders, to the injury of his treasury and authority, insomuch that the civil officers of government became of little consequence in the eyes of the renters. Aly Verdy Khan bore with the evil till it was becoming dangerous; but on the General's demanding the province of Behar, fearing, from his own conduct in a similar situation, that Mustapha Khan would finally direct the force which that government would give him against his patron, as he himself had done against the unfortunate Serferaz Khan, he positively refused. He however endeavoured, but in vain, by every other means, to satisfy him for his breach of promise. Mustapha Khan had resolved to establish himself in Behar, and would not be satisfied with any thing less. It is said, that he had even views upon Bengal, to accomplish which he would not have spared the life of his master. Jealousies now took

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place; and each party became suspicious of the other's intentions, knowing that assassination was an engine they each could make use of without remorse, and which, perhaps, both watched an opportunity to employ. Appearances of regard were however kept up between the Nuwab and his General; but the latter now always went well guarded in his visits to court. At length, an accident brought affairs to a crisis, which produced an open rupture. A. D. 1744.

Mustapha Khan, one day intending to pay his respects to the Nuwab, despatched before him two of his principal officers, to observe the state of the audience chamber, and remark if there were any signs of treachery against him; a precaution he had used since the coolness had taken place. The officers, having made their obeisance to the Prince, sat down to wait the arrival of the General; when, just as it was announced, a eunuch came from the interior apartments, and informed the Nuwab, that his *Begum* was suddenly taken ill, and desired to see him: the Nuwab rose up, and, retiring, desired that the officers would excuse him for a few minutes to their General. At this instant, the tread of feet and uncommon rustling were heard in the passage to the *haram*, which the officers, ever suspicious of treachery, supposing to proceed from armed men concealed to assassinate their lord, and the Nuwab's departure giving colour to their apprehensions, they rushed out, and informed Mustapha Khan, who was now alighting in the court, of their fears. The General, prepared for alarm by the consciousness of his own evil designs, remounted; and hastening precipitately to his cantonments, refused to return; though the Nuwab, who had almost instantaneously come back to the chamber of audience, despatched after him his nephew, Nuazish Mohammed, A. D. 1745.

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to inform him that he was waiting to receive him, and anxious to inquire the cause of his sudden departure, with solemn assurances that no treachery had been intended. On the return of his nephew, Aly Verdy Khan would have gone in person to persuade him of his sincerity; but the entreaties of his family, who were alarmed for his safety, prevailed upon him to give up that hazardous design. Every trial was made to calm the apprehensions of the General, but in vain; and he now openly declared his intentions of quitting the Nuwab's service, and demanded the arrears of pay due to himself and followers. Aly Verdy Khan gladly complied with his wishes, and paid without delay seventeen lacs* of rupees, without examining his accounts; at the same time commanding him, as he was resolved to leave his service, to quit his dominions. Mustapha Khan, emboldened by the readiness with which the Nuwab satisfied his demands, and regarding it as a proof of weakness and fear, made proposals to the Afghan commanders of corps, to depose Aly Verdy Khan, and to divide his territories equally among them. Shumsheer Khan, a considerable chief, agreed to join him: but the rest, as Serdar Khan, Rahim Khan, and others, declined; saying, that if Aly Verdy Khan had injured him by withholding his just demands, they would readily have assisted him in enforcing redress; but to mutiny for no cause, or to behave ungratefully to their benefactor, they esteemed base and dishonourable. The Nuwab took care to improve this good disposition by present gratuities, and promises of favour to the loyal chiefs and their followers; but, not willing to hazard the safety of his capital by proceeding to

* One hundred and seventy thousand pounds.

extremities against the rebel, was content to guard the city from insult, and to wait patiently for his departure. At length, Mustapha Khan, having used every art, but without effect, to corrupt the army, marched from Moorshudabad with upwards of eight thousand horse and a great number of foot, with the intention of possessing himself of Behar. The inhabitants of the city, who during the quarrel had been under the greatest alarm for their persons and property, received new life from his departure. The Nuwab having liberally rewarded his troops for their fidelity, particularly Serdar Khan, Rahim Khan, and Shumsheer Khan, who had been gained over from joining the rebel, now prepared to pursue him. After a few days, leaving the city in charge of his nephew Nuazish, he began his march; at the same time writing to Zyn Addeen, governor of Patna, the capital of Behar, not to hazard an engagement in the field; and if he thought that city not defensible, to cross the river, and move down the opposite bank, till he could form a junction with his grand army.

Mustapha Khan having p,undered Rajemahel, and taken possession of some elephants and cannon stationed there, proceeded to Mongier, of which he gained possession with little loss, the fortress being in a ruinous state. He next advanced towards Patna, hoping to make an easy conquest of that city; but intelligence of his defection having reached Zyn Addeen, the son-in-law of the Nuwab, who was then engaged in some operations on the opposite bank of the Ganges, he returned expeditiously, and encamped near the town, resolved, notwithstanding the contrary advice of his uncle the Nuwab, to oppose the enemy, however superior in number. He despatched a

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messenger to Mustapha Khan, desiring to know his intentions; declaring, that if they were to seize the city, he must produce the Imperial orders to that effect; but if his design was only to pass through the province into Benaras or Oude, he was welcome to pursue his route any way but through the capital. The rebel insolently replied, "Territory is for him who can "conquer it: there is no occasion for an Imperial grant." He concluded by asking, "By what authority was his uncle "supported in seizing Bengal, and murdering his sovereign, "Serferaz Khan?"

Zyn Addeen, not intimidated at the rebel's approach, prepared to receive him, though his army did not consist of more than five or six thousand horse; great part of them raised in a hurry, and inexperienced. The enemy soon appeared, and attacked his camp; when Zyn Addeen was on the first onset deserted by all his troops, except a few hundred veterans who guarded his person. Mustapha Khan was furiously charging this small body; when his elephant driver being killed by a musquet shot, the animal became unruly, and at the same time two of his principal officers were mortally wounded. Unable to manage his elephant, he alighted in order to mount a horse; but his troops, on missing him from his *howdah**, supposing him slain, were seized with a panic, and retreated in confusion towards their own camp. Mustapha Khan endeavoured to rally, and convince them of their error, but was also obliged to retire. Zyn Addeen, not thinking it prudent to pursue, was contented with the repulse of the enemy, and remained within his lines. A distant

* A seat used on elephants.

cannonade and skirmishing was kept up for seven days between the two armies; but on the eighth, the rebel, after sending off his baggage and tents some miles to the westward of Patna, again attacked the lines of Zyn Addeen, who defended his post with gallantry and resolution. Mustapha Khan, still unfortunate, in the beginning of the assault was wounded in the eye with an arrow, which obliged him to retreat; and having now intelligence of the near approach of Aly Verdy Khan, he judged it best to give over his designs on Patna, and to march towards the frontier of Behar. He was pursued by the Nuwab and his nephew from place to place; but expecting soon to be joined by a body of Mahrattas, in conjunction with whom he hoped to be more successful; and not choosing to hazard an engagement with his own troops, dispirited by their late repulses and the loss of their two principal chiefs; he passed into the territories of the Nuwab of Oude, and took refuge under the walls of Chunar, whither Aly Verdy Khan, fearful of embroiling himself with Suffder Jung, did not choose to pursue him, but returned to Patna.

Scarcely had he reached that city, when he received intelligence, that Ragojee Bhosela, encouraged by assurances of assistance from Mustapha Khan, and eager to revenge the assassination of Boskar Raow and his officers, had marched towards Bengal with a large army, and was rapidly advancing. Aly Verdy Khan, leaving his son-in-law to defend Behar and watch the motions of the rebel, hastened to Moorshudabad, for the defence of that city, and to prevent, if possible, a junction of the Mahrattas with Mustapha Khan. At the same time he sent an ambassador to endeavour to divert

SECT. VI. A. D. 1745.

Ragojee from his invasion; but that chief, supposing Bengal to be in a state of disaffection, and the offers of the Nuwab to proceed from fear, demanded the unreasonable sum of three crores of rupees as the price of his forbearance. The Nuwab, though resolved not to consent to terms so exorbitant and dishonourable, yet willing to gain time, in hopes that the rainy season, now near, would stop the Mahratta from action, and allow him effectually to punish Mustapha Khan, instructed his ambassador to amuse Ragojee with professions of compliance. In consequence of this, nearly two months were wasted in negotiation at Burdwan, where the enemy encamped; and, at the expiration of that time, Aly Verdy Khan received intelligence of the defeat and death of Mustapha Khan, who had, with great additions to his former force, invaded Behar, thinking to find it an easy conquest, whilst the attention of Aly Verdy Khan was engaged by the Mahratta invasion, but the abilities and good fortune of Zyn Addeen prevailed against him*.

The Nuwab, who had continued at his capital in order to convince Ragojee that he was sincere in his desire of peace, now ordered his ambassador to return, and sent him this vaunting message: "Those who seek peace from an enemy, are guided "either by a sense of their own loss or inferiority, or hopes of "advantage; but, praised be God! the heroes of the true faith "feel no dread of encountering infidels. Peace therefore depends "upon this: When the lions of Islaum shall so engage the "monsters of Idolatry, that they shall swim in the blood of

* They fought near Jugdispore. Mustapha was killed by a musquet-ball; and his body having been quartered, was hung at the four gates of Patna.

"each other, and struggle till one party shall, overpowered, "beg for quarter." Ragojee replied, "That, to obtain this crisis, "he had already advanced nearly a thousand miles from his "own country; but the Nuwab had not yet moved one "hundred to do him the honours of a meeting." Aly Verdy Khan rejoined, "That the rainy season being arrived, and Ra- "gojee having suffered fatigue and inconvenience from his "long march, it would be prudent for him to spend the incle- "ment months in some convenient spot, that his troops might "refresh and prepare for engagement in the dry season, when "he would respectfully wait upon him, even to his own do- "minions." Ragojee accordingly encamped in Bheerbhoom, and reduced the province of Cuttack, and most of Burdwan, by his detachments,

In the beginning of the cool season of 1158, Aly Verdy Khan marched from his capital, to offer battle to the enemy. But Ragojee, alarmed at his approach, moved into Behar, in order to form a junction with the remains of Mustapha Khan's adherents, who still continued to infest the hilly part of that province, under Mortuzza Khan, son to the deceased chief, although too weak to venture into the open country alone. The Nuwab, not being able to overtake the Mahrattas, encamped at Bankipore, a short distance west of Patna, for some time; but, on hearing that the enemy had crossed the Soane to join the Afghans, he proceeded to Mohib Aleepore, on the banks of that river.

Ragojee having effected his purpose of joining the rebels, advanced towards the Nuwab's army in great force; and several engagements took place, in all which the latter was victorious; particularly in one, when the Mahratta general was so com-

SECT. VI. A. D. 1745.

pletely surrounded, that he must have been taken prisoner, had not Shumsheer Khan and Serdar Khan, two of Aly Verdy Khan's Afghan officers, who were privately negotiating a treaty with the enemy, purposely let him escape. This discovery of treachery alarmed the Nuwab, and he again offered terms to the Mahratta: but Ragojee would not accept them; and seeing no advantage in opposing Aly Verdy Khan in the field, by advice of Meer Hubbeeb he proceeded rapidly towards Moorshudabad, in hopes of being able to plunder that city before the Nuwab could reach it with his army. Aly Verdy Khan, however, moved with such expedition, that he arrived only one day after the enemy, who had only time to ravage part of the suburbs, and, on his approach, retreated across the river Bhagarutty. The Nuwab followed Ragojee to Cutwa; near which he obliged him to engage, and defeated him with great slaughter, when the Mahrattas retreated towards Midnapore. Here, having received intelligence of insurrections in his own country, Ragojee returned hastily to Berar with the bulk of his army, leaving Meer Hubbeeb and the Afghan chiefs for the defence of Cuttack; upon which the Nuwab, giving up for the present the recovery of that province, returned to his capital, in order to refresh his troops, and to correct some misdoings which he had discovered among his principal officers.

It has been already mentioned, that Serdar Khan and Shumsheer Khan, during the campaign, had suffered Ragojee to escape, when they might have made him prisoner. The Nuwab had also, while the Mahrattas were in the neighbourhood of the capital, entrusted the protection of the roads between it and Bogwaungolah, from whence the city was furnished with

supplies from the districts eastward of the Ganges, to those officers who, either through neglect or design, allowed the marauders more than once to plunder the convoys. The Nuwab upon this removed them from that duty, which he entrusted to his nephew, Sayid Ahmed, who fulfilled it to his satisfaction, and intercepted letters from Ragojee to the former commanders, which proved their connivance. Aly Verdy Khan had concealed his suspicions till the retreat of the Mahrattas; but, upon his return to Moorshudabad, he dismissed them with their followers, about six thousand men, from his service, but allowed them to retire to their homes in the district of Durbunga, on the eastern side of the Ganges, in the province of Behar. In this season of temporary repose were celebrated the marriages of his grandson Seraje ad Dowlah, and Akrem ad Dowlah, sons of Zyn Addeen Ahmed, the latter of whom had been adopted by Nuazish Mohammed, who had no children. Upward of two thousand rich dresses were distributed on this occasion among the attendants at court; and, during a whole month, the populace were feasted at the expense of the Nuwab. The magnificence of these nuptials, the brilliant illuminations, splendid pageants, and grand processions of the bridegrooms, are still spoken of with admiration by the inhabitants of Bengal.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1745. A. D. 1746.

Aly Verdy Khan, having now resolved to attempt the expulsion of the Mahrattas and Afghans from Cuttack, appointed Meer Jaffier Khan * to the command of a considerable detachment for that service; giving him, by way of encouragement, the foujedaries of Injelee and Midnapore, in addition to the office of Paymaster-general. Meer Jaffier, on his ar-

* The same person who, after the decease of Aly Verdy Khan, by the assistance of the English, acquired the musnud of Bengal. He was married to a half-sister of Aly Verdy Khan.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1747.

rival at Midnapore, defeated a small body of the enemy; when, being much addicted to luxury and indolence, he did not pursue his advantage, but put his troops into cantonments; though the Nuwab had ordered him to proceed to Cuttack without delay, before the enemy could be reinforced from Berar, the chief's son of which, Janojee, was preparing for a fresh invasion. At length the expected Mahratta army entered Cuttack; and Meer Jaffier, not choosing to hazard the defence of Midnapore, retreated towards Burdwan; when the advanced party of the enemy, observing his pusillanimity, hung upon his rear, and plundered his baggage of several elephants. Aly Verdy Khan, upon this, despatched Attah Allah Khan with a reinforcement, to supersede him in the command; and moved also himself from the capital with his army, to support him, if necessary. Atta Allah engaged the enemy at Burdwan, and defeated them; but having secret designs on the government himself, the accession to which he had been foretold by a fanatic officer in his service who pretended to the gift of prophecy, he thought the present a proper occasion to assume independence. For this purpose, he endeavoured to corrupt Meer Jaffier by a promise of the government of Behar, if he would assist in deposing the Nuwab. Meer Jaffier at first listened to the proposal, but, at the remonstrances of his friends on the danger of the attempt, withdrew his concurrence. Intelligence of this treacherous combination, however, having reached Aly Verdy Khan, he determined to lessen their influence, and, on his arrival at Burdwan, reprimanded Meer Jaffier severely for his conduct in Midnapore; upon which that chief refrained from his usual attendance at the *durbar*. Atta Allah Khan, proud of his late victory, and not suspecting that his evil designs were known to the Nuwab, demanded the command of

a thousand horse for Meer Aly Asgir, the fanatic officer who had prophesied his exaltation, and had greatly distinguished himself in the action; but this the Nuwab refused; and Atta Allah, being disgusted, threatened to leave the army. Aly Verdy Khan was not to be moved, and he accordingly retired with his followers to Moorshudabad. The Nuwab would now have overlooked the faults of Meer Jaffier, and, on the death of a relation, condescendingly went to pay him a visit of condolence, as a mark of returning favour; but that chief, supposing this honour to proceed from a dread of his influence, insolently neglected the complimentary advance from his tent to meet him; on which the Nuwab, in great wrath, laid aside his intentions, after he had gone half way, and returned to his camp. He now ordered him to give in the accounts of his office, and to send Shujan Sing, his deputy, with them to the durbar. Meer Jaffier refused; upon which the Nuwab removed him from all his employments; and offered service to his followers in other corps, which they readily embraced. The General, finding himself deserted, would have made concessions; but the Nuwab ordered him to leave the army, and retire to the capital. SECT. VI. A. D. 1747.

Aly Verdy Khan, notwithstanding this dissention, and the loss of two of his generals, kept the field, and defeated the Mahrattas in several engagements. Janojee attempted, like his father, to plunder the capital; but the Nuwab followed him with such rapidity, that he had not time to execute his designs; and, on the approach of the rains, retired to Midnapore, where he cantoned; and Aly Verdy Khan marched to Moorshudabad, not choosing to pursue him farther till the dry season. Meer Aly Asgir, the prophesying fanatic, was now obliged by the Nuwab to quit the provinces; though Nuazish A. D. 1748.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1748. Mohammed used every entreaty with his uncle to allow him to remain in the city with Atta Allah Khan, whom the Nuwab yet permitted to reside there.

The rains had scarcely subsided, when the Nuwab prepared to march against the Mahrattas; and was encamped at Amaunee Gunge, not far from the capital, when he received sudden intelligence of an insurrection in Behar, the assassination of his nephew Zyn Addeen, and the captivity and disgraceful death of his brother Hajy Ahmed. It has been already remarked, that the Nuwab had discharged from his service the Afghan chiefs, Shumsheer Khan and Serdar Khan, with their followers. These generals had resided since that time in their jagiers in Durbunga; but the existence of such a body of armed men, free from any controul of the Governor of the province, could not long continue without endangering its safety. Zyn Addeen, according to some reports, dreading their rebellion, or, to others, by attaching the Afghans to his interests, meaning to insure his succession to his uncle, or to assume independence on his authority, had, during the rains, represented to him, by his agent, that the discharged chiefs were sorry for their past conduct, and desirous of being re-admitted to his service: he therefore requested that he might be allowed to entertain them, as the only mode of preventing a commotion, to which they would have recourse, should their petition be rejected. The Nuwab, with some reluctance, consented*; and Zyn Addeen made proposals to the two chiefs, which they received with seeming satisfaction. The terms of service being adjusted, in the end of the month Zilhije 1161, they marched from Durbunga

* Mr. Orme says, it was a plot of Aly Verdy Khan's to destroy all the Afghan chiefs by gunpowder. See vol. II., page 40.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1748.

to the bank of the Ganges, opposite Patna; and the Governor, to assure them of his confidence and sincerity, condescended to visit them with a few attendants. He was received with proper respect, and a day was fixed for their crossing the river with their followers. The Governor returned to his palace satisfied of their fidelity, and issued orders for the provision of boats for their conveyance. On the day appointed, the Afghans crossed the Ganges, and encamped near the city; when Zyn Addeen again visited Serdar Khan*. The two next days were chosen for the Generals to pay their respects to him separately, at the palace; and the Governor, in order to obviate any fears they might have of treachery, commanded that only his domestic servants should attend him, even to the exclusion of his usual body guards. Serdar Khan came the first day; and having received the customary tokens of esteem, returned to his camp. The following morning the Governor repaired to his hall of audience, to receive the promised visit of Shumsheer Khan; and, as on the day before, would not permit any guards to attend, allowing only a few officers of his household to be present. First came nearly a thousand of the Afghan infantry, with matchlocks and matches lighted, who, after saluting, arranged themselves in the square of the palace. A chief, named Morad Sheer Khan, next entered, with a crowd of officers, who filled the hall, and eagerly pressed to present their offerings. This being done, Zyn Addeen inquired for Shumsheer Khan, and was told he was not far off. Morad Sheer Khan now ordered his companions to take leave, and make room for others. They rose, and,

Dec. 1748.

* It is said, this chief was not a partner in the treason, as far as respected the assassination.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1748.

according to custom, received each a *betle** from the Governor, who was earnest in distributing it; when one of the Afghans, suddenly drawing a dagger, aimed a stroke at him, but without effect. One of the Nuwàb's attendants immediately cried out "Treachery!" but Zyn Addeen had only time to draw his sabre, when Morād Sheer Khan cut him down, and he fell dead on the pillow of his musnud. Several of his attendants were slain: and the palace being filled with the traitors, also the streets of the city by the soldiers of Shumsheer Khan, no resistance could be made by the dependants of the Governor. The Afghans committed great excesses in the town, the inhabitants of which had no remedy but to submit to their authority. Shumsheer Khan ordered Hajy Ahmed to be brought before him, and demanded an account of his treasure; but declining a discovery, he was tortured in various modes for seventeen days, till at length he expired; not unjustly punished for his treachery, and share in the murder of the unfortunate Serferaz Khan. About seventy lacs of rupees were found buried in his house, besides jewels and other valuables to a great amount. The effects of Zyn Addeen were seized; and his Begum Ameena, the daughter of Aly Verdy Khan, with his other women, forcibly carried to the camp of Shumsheer Khan; who, leaving the city under charge of his deputy, fixed his head quarters at a little distance, and engaged in raising new levies with the plunder he had acquired, intending to invade Bengal. The wealthy inhabitants of Patna were obliged to pay large sums, to save their houses from being plundered; and a heavy contribution was exacted from the people at large by the rebels.

Aly Verdy Khan, though inwardly deeply affected at the

* It is a composition of various ingredients folded in an aromatic leaf, and is constantly chewed by the natives of Hindoostan. It is properly called *paun*.

death of his brother and nephew, the disgraceful captivity of his daughter, and the loss of Behar, threatened also with that of Bengal by the invasion of the Mahrattas at this alarming crisis, did not lose his intrepidity of mind; but sustained the storms of calamity with manly resolution, and prepared to combat the attacks of misfortune. He convened his principal officers, some of whom he had reason to suppose connected with the rebels, being of the same tribes; and desired their advice for his conduct in the present unhappy juncture of his affairs. They unanimously declared, that they would loyally obey his commands. He replied, that his beloved brother and nephew being slain, and their families plunged in disgraceful captivity, he found life, under such misfortunes unrevenged, intolerable; therefore knew no remedy but to punish the rebels, or die in the attempt. If therefore any wished to follow him to this extremity, he would spare nothing to reward them; but neither would he detain those who might choose to quit his service, having already received more obligations from them than he could repay: and as he had resolved to seek death rather than lead a dishonourable life, but few followers were necessary to enable him to obtain the former. The chiefs, one and all, exclaimed, "that they owed him inviolable gratitude, for his "long-experienced bounty towards them, and had no views "but to sacrifice their lives, if necessary, in his service;" to perform which, they bound themselves by oath on the Koran. Aly Verdy Khan, now convinced of their fidelity, paid up their arrears, and prepared to march against the rebels. The Mahrattas by this time had advanced from Burdwan, and began to lay waste the country within a short distance of the capital; but the Nuwab, knowing that to follow these marauders,

SECT. VI. A.D. 1748. who always avoided coming to action, would be in vain, and would give time to the rebels in Behar to gather strength, was not to be diverted from his purpose. He stationed Sayid Ahmed at Bogwangolah, to preserve the communication for supplies open between the Ganges and the city, the defence of which he entrusted to Nuazish Mohammed and Atta Allah Khan, with a body of five thousand horse. A proclamation was also issued, that he found it necessary to march against the rebels, though the Mahrattas were in the environs of the city; and recommending, to such as chose it, to retire with their families to places of greater security, previous to his departure. Most of the inhabitants who could procure conveyance accordingly moved, with their families and effects, across the Ganges; so that scarcely any but the soldiery and poor remained. Having finished his preparations, he moved from Amaunee Gunge, with an army of twenty thousand horse, and as many foot. In order to secure provisions, he had collected a large fleet of boats, amply laden, to accompany his march up the banks of the Ganges. Meer Jaffier on this occasion was again taken into favour, restored to command, and to the office of Paymaster-general.

March 1749. Aly Verdy Khan reached Mongier without opposition, except in a trifling skirmish with some of the Mahrattas at Bhaugulpore, who had marched to join the rebels. Here a messenger was intercepted with letters from Atta Allah Khan* to the insurgents, in which he encouraged them to stand, and offered to embrace their cause at a convenient opportunity. The Nuwab was joined at Mongier by a few of the Behar zemindars, and dependants of the late Zyn Addeen, who informed

* His daughter had been betrothed to Seraje ad Dowlah, but died a few days before the marriage was to have taken place.

him that the rebels had left Patna, and were encamped at Bar, in number about fifty thousand horse and foot, expecting to be joined by the Mahrattas.

Janojee and Meer Hubbeeb having reached the vicinity of the rebels' camp, invited them to a conference, at which they embraced the service of the Mahratta chief; and Shumsheer Khan was invested by him with the *khelaut* of the soubahdary of Behar. The next day, Meer Hubbeeb visited Shumsheer Khan, who after his audience left him to repose; but privately directed the guard over the tents, when he should prepare to return to his own camp, to detain him, as a security for the payment of the expenses he had incurred in levying an army for the service of the Mahrattas, at whose instigation he pretended he had assassinated Zyn Addeen. This scheme by some means coming to the knowledge of an attendant of Meer Hubbeeb, he directed some of the horsemen who had accompanied him, to leave the camp, but to return suddenly, as if pursued by an enemy, and spread an alarm that the Nuwab's army was in sight; in hopes that, by this stratagem, he might save his master from the intended treachery. The horsemen spread the alarm, as directed, and much confusion occurred in the rebels' camp; but notwithstanding the representations of Meer Hubbeeb, that the present was no time for settling accounts, he was not allowed to depart till he had paid a considerable sum, and given the security of merchants for a much greater. This dispute proved highly favourable to Aly Verdy Khan, by preventing the Mahrattas from acting in conjunction with the rebels; as the former now resolved to watch only an opportunity for plundering either army. The following day the Nuwab offered battle to the enemy, and,

SECT. VI. A. D. 1749.

by his usual good fortune, Serdar Khan was killed by a matchlock ball in the beginning of the action, which involved one half of the rebels in confusion, and spread alarm through the troops of Shumsheer Khan. At this juncture the Mahrattas appeared in the rear, hoping to effect the plunder of the Nuwab's camp, while he was engaged. Upon Seraje ad Dowlah's representing that it was proper to detach a body to oppose them, he replied, "that he would first defeat his enemy in front, and then with ease disperse the Mahrattas." Having said this, he charged the rebels with great fury, and they fled panic-struck before him. Shumsheer Khan, being deserted by his troops, was attacked on his elephant by an officer named Hubbeeb Beg, who slew him, and cutting off his head, brought it to the Nuwab. The Mahrattas, seeing the defeat of the rebels, withdrew from the field without striking a blow, and the Nuwab quietly took possession of the Afghan camp; which they had left standing, with all their tents and baggage. Here the Nuwab found his daughter, the Begum of Zyn Addeen, and the rest of his family, who had been made prisoners at Patna. Having offered up thanks for this, on his side, almost bloodless victory, and the happy retrieval of his insulted honour, he proceded to Patna, where he distributed large sums to the religious and poor, in gratitude to God for his success, and took measures for repairing the losses of government in the late rebellion. Having sent for the women and children of the principal insurgents from Durbunga, on their arrival he lodged them in his own haram, treating them with humanity and kindness, and after a short time set them at liberty. At this time, also, he permitted the women and family of Meer Hubbeeb, who had been confined since his

joining the Mahrattas, to return to him, and furnished them with money, conveyances, and an escort for their protection to the enemy's camp. Having resettled the government of Behar, he appointed his grandson, Seraje ad Dowlah, Governor of that province; but nominated Raja Janky Ram to be his deputy, and to perform the duty; he also appointed his second son-in-law, Sayid Ahmed, Foujedar of Purneah: he then returned triumphantly to Moorshudabad; but, previously to entering the city, obliged Atta Allah Khan * to quit it, and, as soon as possible, his dominions; permitting him, however, to remove with all his effects, and nearly seventy lacs of rupees, which he had acquired in his service, though he had repeated proofs of his having conspired against his life and government. Atta Allah Khan retired into the province of Oude, and was soon afterwards slain, in an action in the service of Suffder Jung against the Patans of Ferokhabad. Janojee, the Mahratta chief, after the defeat of Shumsheer Khan, not thinking himself equal to Aly Verdy Khan in the field, retired with his army to Midnapore; and soon after, on receiving intelligence of the death of his mother, marched to Nagpore, leaving Meer Hubbeeb with a detachment for the defence of Cuttack.

The Nuwab, at the conclusion of the rains of 1162, moved again from his capital, in order to drive the Mahrattas from Cuttack; and, on his approach, they quitted the city. He followed them from place to place, during the dry season, without being able to bring them to action; and on his return to Moorshudabad, the enemy again obtained possession of that province.

* He was married to a daughter of Haiy Ahmed.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1750.

Bengal was this year free from their depredations; a point which the Nuwab esteemed an ample reward for the fatigues of his campaign. The next year he renewed his efforts, and the marauders evaded his pursuit as usual; which made the Nuwab resolve to canton for the rains at Midnapore: but buildings were scarcely erected, when he received intelligence that Seraje ad Dowlah, his favourite grandson, had left Moorshudabad, with intentions of taking possession of Patna, which was governed in his name by Janky Ram, and of assuming independence.

Aly Verdy Khan, who loved his grandson to distraction, was more alarmed for his personal safety in the opposition he might receive from the Governor of Patna, than any ill consequences to himself from the rebellion. He instantly left his army at Midnapore, and with a small force hastened to Moorshudabad, where he remained only one day to refresh his troops, and then followed the imprudent youth; to whom he wrote in terms of the greatest affection, assuring him that he meant him for his successor, and entreating him to return to his protection. Seraje ad Dowlah wrote an insolent reply, in which he accused the Nuwab of promoting his uncles to offices of trust, and treating him only with pretended fondness; that he was weary of being controuled like a child; and, since he would not give him a share in authority, he was resolved to seize what he regarded as his just right: therefore he hoped his grandfather would not attempt to oppose him, as the consequence must be, that one of them must fall in the contest. The Nuwab returned for answer, that Seraje ad Dowlah, through imprudence and want of judgment, had causelessly accused him of want of regard; for he not only intended him the

succession to his own dominions, but to the government of the empire, could he obtain it for him. He concluded his letter with the following sentences: "The religious champion, "eager for martyrdom, is unmindful that the martyr to love "exceeds him. In the last day they will not be compared "together, for one is slain by an enemy, but the other by "a friend." SECT. VI. A. D. 1756.

Seraje ad Dowlah, on his arrival near Patna, in the month of Rejib 1163, summoned the Governor, Raja Janky Ram, to deliver up the city, and repair to his presence; assuring him of favour in case of his obedience. The Raja was at a loss how to act, being fearful of surrendering his charge without orders from the Nuwab; and alarmed, lest any accident should happen to Seraje ad Dowlah if he opposed him; but at length he resolved on defending the city, till he should hear from Aly Verdy Khan. The imprudent young man assaulted the town without delay; but Mhadee Nissar Khan, the principal adviser and leader of his rebellion, being killed early in the attack, his followers fled, and Seraje ad Dowlah with difficulty sheltered himself in a house in the suburbs. The Raja, rejoiced that he had escaped unhurt, immediately sent some of his principal officers to attend him to a residence befitting his rank: and by the persuasions of his friends, he consented to return to his grandfather. Aly Verdy Khan was overjoyed at the escape of the youth, and hastened to meet him. Instead of reproaches, he received him with the greatest affection, and a joy bordering on weakness, as it made Seraje ad Dowlah exert the influence he now saw he had over him to his discredit and dishonour. The Nuwab, having spent a few days at Patna, returned with his grandson to Moorshudabad; but was seized on the road by July 1750.

SECT. VI. A.D. 1751.

an intermitting fever, which continued long upon him. On his recovery in 1164, he marched against the Mahrattas, who yet infested the province of Cuttack, and, as usual, unable to bring them to a decisive engagement, spent the dry months in pursuing them from place to place. At length both parties, being tired of war, began equally to wish for an accommodation of their disputes. Aly Verdy Khan yielded to the Mahrattas the province of Cuttack, and agreed to pay annually twelve lacks of rupees, as the choute of Bengal*.

The Nuwab, by this peace, being freed from all his enemies, gradually discharged his superfluous troops, and employed himself in encouraging his people to rebuild the villages which had been destroyed, and to cultivate the lands which in many districts had long lain waste, from the desertion of the inhabitants during the repeated invasions. From this period we find nothing remarkable in his life, the remainder of his government being uninterrupted by vicissitude. As he had chosen Seraje-ad Dowlah for his successor, he latterly

* The following is an abstract of the treaty, by which the dignity of the Nuwab was nominally preserved.

"1. That Meer Hubbeeb should be considered as the deputy of the Nuwab; that he should receive orders to appropriate the revenues of Orissa to the payment of the arrears due to the troops of Raja Ragojee Bhoosla, and that, over and above the said assignment, the sum of twelve lacs of rupees should be paid to the said Raja's agents, yearly, on condition that the Mahrattas should not again set foot in his Highness's territories.

"2. That the river Soonamookyt, which runs by Ballasore, should be considered as the boundary between the two dominions; and that the Mahrattas should never cross that river, nor even set a foot in its waters."

Meer Hubbeeb did not long enjoy the fruits of his labours; he was soon after assassinated by Janojee, the son of the Berar Raja.

† This is probably a mistake, as the river Subanreeka, which runs by Jellasore, was considered the boundary of Orissa, till October 1803, when the whole province was re-conquered by the English. See *Wellesley's Mahratta War*.

SECT. VI.

entrusted him with a power, which was too often employed for the destruction of those against whom he had any pique, or was jealous of their attachment to his uncles. Hussein Cooly Khan and his brother, the favourites of his uncle Nuazish Mohammed, he assassinated, in the year 1168; and A. D. 1754. put to death other persons of rank, without being punished by his grandfather: which acts of cruelty estranged from him the minds of the people, and prepared the way for his own future destruction.

In the year 1169 died Nuazish Mohammed, nephew to the A. D. 1756. Nuwab, and son to Hajy Ahmed. He possessed many good qualities, and was much esteemed by the people for his clemency, and charities to the friendless and poor. His death was speedily followed by that of his brother Sayid Ahmed, who had for many years governed the district of Purneah, with credit to himself and satisfaction to the inhabitants; his misfortune at Cuttack having corrected the warmth of his disposition, and taught him prudence and humanity. Both these princes are well spoken of by the natives of Bengal, and their memory respected. Nuazish Mohammed died without issue; and Sayid Ahmed left only one son, who succeeded him in his government, under the title of Shokut Jung.

Aly Verdy Khan did not long survive the death of his nephews. In the eightieth year of his age, being seized with a dropsy, he submitted for some days to the advice of his physicians; but finding himself growing worse, and judging that at his time of life a recovery was not to be expected, refrained from medicine, and refused longer to follow any regimen. The expectations of his death caused great disputes among his relations. His eldest daughter, Gheseety Begum,

SECT. VI. widow of Nuazish Mohammed, retired with her treasures to
A. D. 1756. Mooteejeel*, and distributed large sums among the followers of her late husband, in hopes that they would support her against her nephew Seraje ad Dowlah, on her father's demise. Such policy was only the influence of her declining fortune. When Aly Verdy Khan was in his last agonies, some of his women desired he would recommend them to the care of his intended successor; but the Nuwab, knowing his bad qualities, observed, smiling, to them, "that if he for three days should behave dutifully to his grandmother, then they might entertain hopes of his tenderness." Shortly after this, he departed to the
April 9, 1756. Divine mercy, on the ninth of Rejib, 1169, after a government of sixteen years over the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. He was buried the following night, near the tomb of his mother, in the garden of Khoosh Baug.

Aly Verdy Khan from his early youth was not addicted to dle pleasures, as wine or opiates†, music, or the company of courtezans. He was regular in his devotions, and assiduously abstained from all things forbidden by the divine law. He generally rose two hours before day, and, after ablution and prayer, drank coffee with his select companions. At daybreak he gave public audience; when the commanders of his army, the civil officers, and persons of all ranks who had any applications to make, were admitted without reserve, to set forth their business, and received satisfaction from his bounty. At

* A country palace near Moorshudabad. The principal building stands in a piece of water called Mootee Jeel, or Pearl Lake. It was erected by Nuazish Mohammed; and is a stately pile, being ornamented with many pillars of black marble, brought from the ruins of Gour or Lucknowty, the antient capital of Bengal.

† Commonly used in India to intoxicate.

the expiration of two hours he retired to a private apartment, where such only as were invited came. These were generally his nephews, Nuazish Mohammed and Sayid Ahmed, his grandson Seraje ad Dowlah, and particular friends. Pieces of poetry were now recited, or history or anecdotes read to him; and sometimes he even amused himself with giving directions to his cooks, who prepared victuals before him according to his palate. The officers of different departments, if necessary, also came for orders. He then sat down to eat with his friends, and many shared the bounties of his table. When the meal was over, the company retired to repose. At this time, a story-teller always attended, to relate some amusing narrative. He generally rose about an hour after mid-day, performed his devotions, and read in the Korān till near four. After saying the prescribed prayers, and drinking a draught of water cooled with ice or saltpetre, he received several learned men, in whose company he daily spent an hour; hearing them discuss points of divinity and law, for his information. When they retired, the officers of the revenue, with Juggut Seat his banker, were admitted, and gave him the intelligence received from Dehly and every province of the empire, also of each district of his own government; after which he issued his orders to them, as the nature of the business required. An hour passed in this manner, and sometimes his near relations were allowed to be present. By this time night set in, lights were brought, and with them certain jesters and buffoons, who entertained him with their repartees on each other for a short time. He then retired to prayers; after which he sat in private with his own Begum, to receive the visits of near female relations, till nine o'clock. The

SECT. VI. women then departed; and men were admitted who had business with him, till he retired to sleep, generally early, and without eating. In this manner he passed his time, having stated hours for every employment. He was unequalled in his benevolence to his relations, friends, and former acquaintance in his lower fortunes, particularly to those who had shewn him the smallest kindness when he was distressed at Dehly in his youth, sending for them or their children to his court, and conferring favours upon them beyond their expectation. The people at large, during his life, experienced such care and satisfaction from his gentle administration, as could not be exceeded by the indulgence of a parent; while at the same time the lowest of his officers grew rich in his service. He was intelligent in all affairs; and encouraged the deserving of every profession. Affable in manners, wise in state affairs, courageous as a general, he possessed also every noble quality. When the French general, Bussy, after the death of Nasir Jung*, wrote to him in pompous terms of his victory, and recommended the factory of Chandernagore to his protection, he reflected upon the similarity of disposition between his intended successor, Seraje ad Dowlah, whose enmity to the English he was apprised of, and the unfortunate Soubahdar of the Dekkan; at the same time saying, "He feared that after his death the Europeans would "become masters of many parts of Hindoostan." Mustapha Khan, his principal general, had endeavoured to prevail upon him to expel the English from Calcutta, and seize their wealth;

* Nasir Jung was Nizam of the Dekkan. He was surprised and slain in a conspiracy of his nobles, assisted by the French, in the year 1755.

but receiving no answer to his advice, urged it again, through the Nuwab's nephews, Nuazish Mohammed and Sayid Ahmed. Aly Verdy Khan returned no answer: but shortly after said, in private, to the latter, "My child, Mustapha Khan is a soldier, "and wishes us to be constantly in need of his service; but "how came you to join in his request? What have the English "done against me, that I should use them ill? It is now "difficult to extinguish fire on land; but should the sea be "in flames, who can put them out†? Never listen to such advice "as his, for the result would probably be fatal."

In consequence of these sentiments, the Europeans were little molested during his government; and were permitted to carry on their commerce, according to the tenor of the Firmāns they had received from the Emperor Ferrokhsere or from former governors, upon making the usual presents. The zemindars were so well pleased with his conduct, that during the war with the Mahrattas they advanced him a crore and a half of rupees, a circumstance unprecedented in Oriental history. It does not appear that he ever remitted any part of the revenues to Dehly‡; but the frequent invasions of the Mahrattas may be admitted as an excuse for his conduct.

† An allusion to the fleet.

‡ In the year 1746, Hindoostan was invaded by the Afghans of Cabul, under the command of Ahmed Shah Abdullah; and in the following year, the Emperor Mohammed Shah died: from which period the Monarchs of India have been entirely destitute of power, and their Governors of provinces have assumed independence. See *Orme's* and *Scott's Histories*, 2d vols.

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## NUWAB, MUNSOOR AL MOOLK, SERAJE AD DOWLAH, SHAH COOLY KHAN, MIRZA MAHMOOD, HYBET JUNG, BEHADUR.

*Origin of Seraje ad Dowlah—His character—Adopted by Aly Verdy Khan, and declared his heir—Seraje ad Dowlah causes Hussein Addeen and Hussein Cooly Khan to be murdered—Nuazish Mohammed, and Sayid Ahmed, the uncles of Seraje ad Dowlah, die, both extremely rich —Aly Verdy Khan gives the foujedary of Purneah to his grandson, Shokut Jung—Death of Aly Verdy Khan—Seraje ad Dowlah takes possession of the government—Sends a party to sequester the wealth of his uncle, Nuazish, and dispossesses his aunt of the palace of Mooty-jeel—Threatens Rajbullub, Deputy-governor of Dacca—Turns many of the old officers out of their employments, and appoints his own favourites—Shokut Jung plots against his Cousin, and solicits the Vizier to confer the government of Bengal on him—Seraje ad Dowlah marches towards Purneah—Stopped at Rajemahel, in consequence of intelligence received from Calcutta—returns to Cossimbazar, and takes possession of the English factory—Proceeds towards Calcutta—The English endeavour to avert his anger, but in vain—They enlist 1500 native matchlock-men, and enrol the militia to defend the fort—The Nuwab arrives at Calcutta—Description of Fort William—The Nuwab's troops storm the outposts, and get possession of the houses near the fort —Mr. Drake defends the fort for some time with great resolution; but, finding there was no hope of holding out, retires on board a ship— Mr. Holwell takes the command of the fort—Endeavours to procure a ship, to take off the garrison, but is disappointed—Writes a letter to Manickchund, Foujedar of Hoogly, to intercede with the Nuwab— A flag of truce sent by the Nuwab; but while the garrison were employed in listening to the messenger, the Nuwab's troops escalade and enter the fort—The English lay down their arms—The Nuwab enters the fort—Severely reprimands Mr. Holwell—Description of the interior of the fort—The English prisoners forced into the Black Hole; and out of 146 persons, 123 die during the night—Mr. Holwell again summoned to the Nuwab; threatened with further punishment if he did not disclose*

*where the Company's treasure was hidden—The name of Calcutta changed to Alynagur—Manickchund left with 3000 men to guard it—The Nuwab levies a fine from the French and Dutch—Returns to Moorshudabad—Writes an order to his Cousin, Shokut Jung, who refuses obedience to it, and returns a letter of defiance—The Nuwab takes the field—Orders Raja Mohun Loll to cross the river and invade Purneah from the east, while Ramnarain, deputy-governor of Behar, should attack it on the west—Character of the two Cousins—Shokut Jung forms an entrenched camp, but neglects to give the requisite orders to his troops—Joins the camp, but disgusts the officers by his conduct—Seraje ad Dowlah's army approaches, and commences a cannonade—Advice given by an old officer to Shokut Jung—The commander of artillery advances his guns beyond the morass—Shokut Jung orders his cavalry to cross the morass, and attack the enemy—Retires to his tent—Alarmed by intelligence of the success of the enemy—Mounts his elephant—Killed by a musquet ball, and his army routed—Mohun Loll advances to Purneah, and seizes the property and family of the deceased—Gives charge of the district to his son—Seraje ad Dowlah returns to Moorshudabad—Affairs of the English resumed—Mr. Drake, with those who had escaped from Calcutta, proceeds to Fulta—Sends an express to Madras—The Madras government thrown into great consternation—Resolve to make war on the Nuwab of Bengal—Fit out an expedition under the command of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive—The fleet sails from Madras—Separated during a tedious voyage—Arrives at Fulta—Colonel Clive writes to the Nuwab—Resolves to attack the fort of Budgebudge—The detachment which was landed for that purpose attacked by surprise—A confused engagement ensues—The Nuwab's troops retire—A ship of war silences the guns of Budgebudge; but the assault having been delayed, a drunken sailor takes the fort—The English advance towards Calcutta—The Governor retreats, leaving only a garrison of 500 men—The English retake Fort William and Calcutta—Take Hoogly—Intelligence of the war with France—The number of the French troops at Chandernagore induces the English to make overtures of peace to the Nuwab, which are rejected with disdain—The Nuwab marches from Moorshudabad—Re-crosses the river above*

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*Hoogly—Encamps in the vicinity of Calcutta—Colonel Clive attacks his camp—The Nuwab much alarmed—Offers to make peace—A treaty concluded—Terms of the treaty—The Nuwab marches from Calcutta—Alliance offensive and defensive formed—The English resolve to attack Chandernagore—The French apply to the Nuwab to protect them—He orders the English to desist; and sends a reinforcement to Hoogly—The French sink several ships in the channel of the river—The English troops enter the French territory—The ships, with much difficulty, brought opposite the fort—The French capitulate—Part of the garrison make their escape—Reasons why the Nuwab did not assist the French—The troops that had escaped from Chandernagore arrive at Cossimbazar, and are taken under the protection of the Nuwab—Colonel Clive demands their being delivered up to him—The Nuwab much irritated thereby—Orders the French to proceed to Behar—Meer Jaffier, and other conspirators, make overtures to Colonel Clive—These overtures accepted—Seraje ad-Dowlah obtains intelligence of the proceedings of the English—Reinforces his army at Plassey—Orders piles to be driven across the river, and sends instructions to Mr. Law to halt at Bhaugulpore—Treaty between Meer Jaffier and the English—The troops march from Calcutta—Colonel Clive writes to the Nuwab, who endeavours to reconcile Meer Jaffier—Orders his army to assemble at Plassey—The English army proceeds up the river, and takes the fort of Cutwa—Letters received from Meer Jaffier—The Colonel calls a council of war—Resolves to cross the river—Informs Meer Jaffier of his intentions—The troops pass the river, and take possession of Plassey grove—The Nuwab encamps close to them—The armies draw out in battle-array—The engagement commences—Meer Muddeen, the Nuwab's general, killed—Seraje ad Dowlah sends for Meer Jaffier, and apologizes for his past conduct—Meer Jaffier advises the troops to be recalled to camp—Sends intelligence of the state of affairs to Colonel Clive—The retreat of the Nuwab's artillery causes much confusion in his camp—The English advance towards the entrenchments—Meer Jaffier's troops attempt to join the English—The Nuwab quits the field—Arrives at Moorshudabad—Escapes from thence, with a few of his women—Embarks on the*

*Ganges—Arrives opposite Rajemahel—Betrayed by a Derveish—Taken prisoner—Sent to Moorshudabad—Put to death by Meeran the son of Jaffier—The English enter the Nuwab's camp—Proceed to Daoodpore—Meeting between Colonel Clive and Meer Jaffier—The English march to Moidapore, in the vicinity of Moorshudabad—Colonel Clive enters the city—Visits Meer Jaffier, and places him on the musnud—Conclusion.*



MIRZA MAHMOOD was the eldest son of Zyn Addeen, the youngest of Hajy Ahmed's sons, who married one of Aly Verdy Khan's daughters. He was born at the period that Aly Verdy was appointed to the government of Behar; and who, considering the birth of a grandson at that time as an auspicious event, declared his intention of adopting him as his own child.

The boy was therefore indulged in every caprice of his mind; and, being naturally of a cruel and perverse temper, his vices ripened with his age: as he grew up, he associated with none but infamous and profligate companions; and at their head, used to patrole the streets of Moorshudabad, and insult every person of respectability whom they met. It is scarcely possible that these circumstances could have been concealed from his grandfather: but the old man was so infatuated with the beauty and lively disposition of the youth, that he took no measures to correct his flagitious conduct.

This young man, in the year of the Hejira 1167, Aly Verdy Khan declared to be his successor: he seated him on the musnud, and, having made him the accustomary offerings and gratulations, obliged all the courtiers and officers to do the same; and from that time suffered him to interfere in the government of the provinces, and to make a very bad use of his authority. A. D. 1753.

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In the following year, Seraje ad Dowlah being jealous of the power and influence which his uncle, Nuazish Mohammed, possessed, as Governor of Dacca and the eastern districts, but not daring to extend his arm against him, caused both his deputies, Hussein Addeen, and Hussein Cooly Khan, to be
A. D. 1754. murdered. The former he effected by private assassination, at Dacca; but the latter was openly executed in the streets of Moorshudabad, in his presence. After this event, Nuazish Mohammed appointed Rajbullub (who, under the former government, had been employed as superintendant of the boat establishment at Dacca, and had thereby accumulated much wealth) to be his Deputy-governor of Dacca and the eastern districts.* About this time died Akram ad Dowlah, the younger brother of Seraje ad Dowlah, to whom a posthumous son was born some months after his decease, and was named Murad ad Dowlah. Nuazish Mohammed died at Moorshudabad, on the
Jan. 1756. 13th of Rubby Assany, 1169, much regretted by the poor, to whom he was exceedingly charitable; without leaving any sons. His brother, Sayid Ahmed, departed this life on the month following, being the 25th of Jemmad al Avul, at Purneah; leaving two sons, on the elder of whom had been conferred the title of Shokut Jung. Both of the brothers died extremely rich: the wealth of the former was never publickly ascertained, as it was taken possession of, first by his wife, Ghescety Begum, and was afterwards plundered by Seraje ad Dowlah: but in the

* As the subject of this Chapter has been already related by the accurate Mr. Orme, I shall endeavour to render it as concise as the nature of the case will admit; referring my Readers, for more particular information, to that celebrated historian. From his general correctness, I must, however, except his orthography of Oriental names.—Those points on which Mr. Orme was uninformed, are amply supplied by the *Sier al Mutakhereen* and the *Ryaz Assulateen*.

treasury of the latter was found sixty-one lacs of rupees, 762,050*l.* sterling, in gold and silver; and the value of his jewels, plate, elephants, &c. amounted to as much more.

Previous to the demise of Sayid Ahmed, the Nuwab had been for some time labouring under a dropsy, and no hopes of his recovery were entertained. Sayid Ahmed had, therefore, made preparations to assert his claim to the succession, in opposition to the determination and will of Aly Verdy Khan: but his premature death left Seraje ad Dowlah without any other rival than his cousin, Shokut Jung; to quiet whom, Aly Verdy Khan bestowed the foujedary of Purneah as a jagier; at the same time, conjuring him to be content with his portion, to live upon amicable terms with all his relations, and to support his father's attendants: but as the youth was of a very similar disposition to Seraje ad Dowlah, and still more ignorant of the world, the advice of his grandfather was little attended to.

April, 1756. Upon the death of Aly Verdy Khan, Seraje ad Dowlah took undisputed possession of the government: and such was the miserable state to which the unfortunate Emperor of Hindoostan, Aalumgeer the Second, was then reduced †, that it is doubtful whether Seraje ad Dowlah ever went through the form of soliciting his confirmation of the appointment.

The first act of his government was to send a party of troops to dispossess his aunt, Gheseety Begum, of the palace of Mootyjeel, and to seize the treasures of her deceased husband, Nuazish Mohammed. These measures he easily effected, although the lady had hired a number of people to defend her against his oppressions. He also demanded a large

† See *Dow's* and *Scott's Histories*—reigns of Ahmed Shah, and Aalumgeer II.

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sum of money from Rajbullub the Deputy-governor of Dacca, and so alarmed him, that he sent off privately his property and family to Calcutta. He afterwards displaced many of the officers of government, and filled their appointments with young men, the companions of his pleasures. Mohun Loll, a Hindoo, who had been dewan or superintendant of his household, he promoted to be Dewan of the province, and his Prime Minister in all affairs. He conferred also on him the titles of Mahraja (Great Prince), and commander of 5000 horse*. Meer Mudden, another person of mean origin, he appointed Commander-in-chief of his forces. One of the principal persons who had been removed from his office, was Meer Jaffier Khan, the Bukhshy or Paymaster-general. This officer soon exhibited signs of discontent; and leaguing with several others who were disgusted with the infamous conduct of the young Nuwab, entered into a correspondence with Shokut Jung, the Governor of Purneah, and exhorted him to assert his claim to the musnud: the young man readily fell into their measures: but, by the prudent advice of some of his counsellors, he deemed it requisite first to procure from the Court of Dehly a commission, appointing him to the government; he, in consequence, applied to Ghazy Addeen, the Vizier of Aalumgeer the Second, from whom he obtained a promise of the patent he required, on condition of sending annually a crore of rupees to the Imperial treasury†.

* All these honours are said to have originated from the Hindoo having presented his sister to Seraje ad Dowlah. She was a lady of the most delicate form, and weighed only 64 lbs. English. He, however, proved himself a faithful servant.

† Mustapha's Translation of the *Sier al Mutakhereen*, p. 729.

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These transactions having been discovered by Seraje ad Dowlah, he placed himself at the head of his troops, and marched towards Purneah; but, upon his arrival at Rajemahel, he was diverted from his purpose, by letters received from Calcutta, respecting the refusal of the English to deliver up Kishen Bullub, the son of Rajbullub, who some months before had left Dacca with his family and property, and had taken refuge at Calcutta: also by intelligence that the English were adding to the fortifications of Fort William, and increasing the strength of the garrison.

This information irritated the Nuwab to a degree of rage which astonished his officers. He instantly changed his resolution of marching to Purneah, and ordered his army to return to Moorshudabad: where he arrived on the 1st of June, and laid siege to the factory of Cossimbazar; the garrison of which consisting only of forty-two men, it was delivered up to him by capitulation, on the fourth day. The terms of the capitulation were, however, immediately broken; and on the 10th of the month of Ramzan, 1169, the Nuwab proceeded towards Calcutta. During this time, letters were daily despatched by the Governor of Calcutta to Mr. Watts, the Chief of Cossimbazar, who was detained as a prisoner by the Nuwab, to offer every apology possible to mitigate his wrath. The good offices of the bankers and principal Moghul merchants were also employed, but all in vain. Seraje ad Dowlah replied, "That Mr. Drake, the Governor, had greivously offended him; "and that he would not suffer the English to remain in his "country on any other terms than were allowed them under "the government of the Nuwab Moorshud Cooly Jaffier Khan."

June 9, 1756.

In this dilemma, as no hopes of assistance could be

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expected in time from Madras, Mr. Drake applied to the Dutch at Chinsura, and to the French at Chandernagore, to help him: but the former positively refused; and the latter added insult to the refusal, by desiring the English to abandon Calcutta, and to repair to Chandernagore, where they would protect them.

The English, finding that they had no other resource than in their own exertions, armed all the Europeans, native Portuguese, and Armenians, and took into their service 1500 Hindoo matchlock-men; they also laid in a store of grain and other provisions; and added such works for their defence as the shortness of the time would admit.

Upon the arrival of Seraje ad Dowlah in the vicinity of Chinsura and Chandernagore, he sent letters to the Dutch and French, commanding them to assist him with their forces in his designs against Calcutta: but they pleaded the treaties subsisting between their nations and the English in Europe, as a reason why they could not obey his commands. This refusal he highly resented; but at that time repressed his indignation, lest they should unite with the English.

The Nuwab attacks Calcutta, June 15.

On the 16th of Ramzan, the Nuwab's troops crossed the river at Hoogly, and on the following day came in sight of Calcutta; but not being aware that the Mahratta ditch had never been completed, they were stopped by that part of it which had been excavated to the north of the town, and a temporary advantage was that evening gained by the English.

The factory, or fort, was situated on the bank of the river: its length from east to west was 210 yards: its breadth on the south side was 130 yards, and on the north only 100 yards: it had four bastions, mounting each ten guns; but the

curtains were only four feet thick, and the terrace, which was the roof of the store rooms, formed the top of the ramparts: the gateway on the eastern side projected, and mounted five guns; and along the bank of the river was a line of heavy cannon, mounted in embrasures of solid masonry: so that the place might have made a long defence against such an enemy, had not the houses of the principal Europeans, and the church, overlooked and commanded the fort.

On the 19th, all the outposts were stormed by the Nuwab's forces; upon which the 1500 matchlock-men, and other native troops in the English service, deserted; whilst the Portuguese and other inhabitants of the town, who had been injudiciously admitted into the fort, caused great confusion and uproar. On the 21st, the besiegers renewed their attacks; and having erected a battery of three guns, began to cannonade the fort; whilst their matchlock-men, and others armed with small pieces, fired from the tops of the houses (which were all flat-roofed) upon the garrison. June 18.

Mr. Drake, the Governor, although not a military man, had not betrayed any signs of personal fear, but exposed his person on the ramparts, and wherever his presence was thought requisite, until he received intelligence that the remaining gunpowder in the magazine was damp and unfit for service: when, finding that there was no chance of much longer defending the place, and being very apprehensive of the resentment of the Nuwab, who had threatened to put him to death, he embarked on board a boat, and in a short time was conveyed on board one of the ships which were then anchored at Govindpore, nearly three miles down the river. The

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example of the Governor was immediately followed by all those who could get on board the ships.

After this abandonment, the number of Europeans remaining in the fort were 190 persons, at the head of whom was Mr. Holwell, one of the members of Council; who, in order to prevent further desertion, directed the gate towards the river to be locked and guarded. It was however his intention to have embarked, with the remainder of the garrison, on board a ship which was still anchored above the fort. For this purpose, he sent orders to the captain to bring her close to the fort, as soon as the ebb-tide would permit: unfortunately, the ship, on her way down, struck on a sand-bank, where the crew, being exposed to the fire of the enemy from the tops of the houses, were obliged to abandon her.

The garrison continued to defend themselves with great vigour during the whole of that day and night; and made many signals to the ships anchored at Govindpore to return and take them on board, as all the boats had been either lost or carried away by the natives; but in this last expectation of relief they were disappointed, for not a single vessel moved to their assistance.

June 20. On the 21st of Ramzan, the Nuwab's troops recommenced their attack with fresh vigour: and whilst some of the garrison exposed themselves with undaunted resolution, others were entreating Mr. Holwell to capitulate; who, to calm the minds of those who desponded, threw a letter from the rampart—written by Omichund, a Hindoo merchant of consequence, whom the English had, together with Kishenbullub, detained as prisoners on the approach of the Nuwab's army—addressed

to Manickchund, the Foujedar of Hoogly, who commanded a body of troops before the fort, requesting him to intercede with the Nuwab to cease hostilities, as the English were ready to obey his commands, and only persisted in defending the fort to preserve their lives and honour. The letter was immediately taken up: but for many hours no answer was returned, whilst the enemy continued to push on the attack with vigour. At four o'clock in the evening a person was observed advancing to the fort with a flag of truce, which Mr. Holwell answered with another from the south-east bastion. A parley ensued, during which many of the Nuwab's troops approached to the walls of the fort, and endeavoured to escalade it; at the same time some of the soldiers of the garrison, having broken open the arrack cellars, had intoxicated themselves, and forced open the gate next the river-side, with an intention of seizing on whatever boats they could find, and of proceeding to the ships: just as they opened the gate, a party of the enemy, who had also got on that side, met them, and at once rushed into the fort; another party at the same moment mounted the walls of the warehouses. In this scene of confusion no resistance was made; and the English having surrendered their arms, the Nuwab's troops refrained from bloodshed.

Fort William taken.

At five o'clock on the 22d of Rāmzan, Seraje ad Dowlah, attended by Meer Jaffier, whom he had again restored to his office, and several other officers, entered the fort. He immediately ordered Omichund and Kishenbullub to be brought before him, and received them with civility. He next directed some of his officers to go and take possession of the Company's treasury: he then proceeded to the principal room of the factory, where he sat in state, and received the congratulations

June 21.

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of his courtiers on the important conquest. He soon after sent for Mr. Holwell: and expressed much resentment at the presumption of the English, in daring to defend the fort; and great dissatisfaction at the smallness of the sum found in the treasury, which did not exceed 50,000 rupees. Mr. Holwell had two other conferences with him on this subject before seven o'clock, when the Nuwab dismissed him with assurances of safety.

Mr. Holwell returning to his unfortunate companions, found them surrounded by a strong guard: he also perceived that several places in the fort had by accident been set on fire, and that the flames approached, on both sides, the spot on which they stood. On each side of the eastern gate of the fort extended a range of chambers, the roofs of which formed the rampart of the eastern curtain; and before the chambers was an arched verandah or gallery, which was intended to shelter the soldiers from sun and rain, but, being very low, obstructed the light and air from the chambers. The prisoners were at first ordered to draw up in the verandah: but the officer commanding the guard, not thinking they would be sufficiently secure there, inquired where was the prison of the fort; and one of the chambers before mentioned, which was used as the Black-hole, to confine disorderly soldiers, being pointed out to him, he, without examining the extent of the apartment, forced them all into it. The door was immediately closed and locked; and 146 persons were thus confined, in the month of June, and in the torrid zone, in a room not twenty feet square, with only two small windows to admit air. For the detail of the horrid sufferings of these unfortunate persons, the reader is referred to the historian mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter: suffice

Sufferings of Mr. Holwell and his companions.

say, that out of one hundred and forty-six persons, only twenty-three survived the fatal night; and these were so reduced they could barely stand*. SECT. VI. A. D. 1756.

Mr. Holwell was carried to the Nuwab, who, so far from shewing any compassion for his situation, or remorse for the death of the other prisoners, only talked to him of the treasures which the English had buried, and threatened him with further punishment if he did not disclose where they were.

To perpetuate the memory of this conquest, the Nuwab ordered the name of Calcutta to be changed to Alynagur; and leaving a garrison in it of 3000 men, under the command of Manickchund, the Foujedar of Hoogly, he proceeded, on the 3d of Shual, towards Moorshudabad†. 2d of July.

As soon as his army had recrossed the river at Hoogly, he sent detachments to the French and Dutch settlements, threatening to extirpate them, as he had done the English, unless they would immediately pay him a large sum of money; but after receiving many assurances of their submission to his will, he consented to accept from the Dutch four lacs and a half of rupees, and from the French three and a half; which difference,

* For the credit of human-nature, we would fain believe the assertions of the native historians, who say the Nuwab knew nothing of this transaction; and that the conduct of the officer who confined them proceeded entirely from stupidity, and not from malevolence or cruelty.

† The capture of Fort William, and the sufferings of its inhabitants, strongly evince the fallacy of all human speculations. For nearly a century, it had been the constant object of the East-India Company to procure a fortification on the Ganges for the protection of their servants and property: had they never obtained it, the catastrophe would not have happened. On the other hand, the Nuwab supposed, that, from the capture of the fort, and the destruction of the garrison, he had rendered his government secure, and expelled the English from the country: whereas that very circumstance drew on him the vengeance of an inveterate foe, caused his death, and transferred the government to the hands of strangers.

SECT. VI. A. D. 1756. it is said, he made because the latter had supplied him with two hundred barrels of gunpowder, as he was marching towards Calcutta.

July 11. On his arrival at Moorshudabad, he issued orders commanding the sequestration of all the effects and merchandise belonging to the English in all parts of his dominions. However, finding that no discoveries could be obtained concerning the treasures which he supposed to be buried in Calcutta, he, in compliance with the intercession of the widow of Aly Verdy Khan, released Mr. Holwell and the other English prisoners.

Soon after Seraje ad Dowlah's return to Moorshudabad, he, in order to try the allegiance of his cousin, appointed a person named Rasbehary to the foujedary of Birnagur in Purneah, and ordered Shokut Jung to put him immediately in possession of the office. Nothing could exceed the rage of Shokut Jung on the receipt of the order: he directed the bearer of it to be beaten: he then called for the Vizier's letter containing the promise of the patent; and having caused it to be read aloud in open court, commanded one of his secretaries to write a letter to the following purport. "Know, that I have received from "the Imperial Court the commission of Governor of the three "provinces. On account of our family connection, I have no "wish to do you any personal injury; and you may make choice "of any of the Eastern districts for your residence, where you "shall receive an ample allowance; but I desire that you will "immediately quit Moorshudabad, and do not presume to take "with you any of the treasure, or other valuables. Send me an "answer quickly, as I am waiting with one foot in the stirrup."

This letter would have irritated a less passionate man than Seraje ad Dowlah. He issued his commands for his army imme-

diately to take the field; and sent orders to Raja Ramnarain, whom Aly Verdy Khan had made Deputy-governor of Behar, to assemble his forces, and, having crossed the river, to enter Purneah. His own army marched in two divisions; that under his immediate command proceeded on the south-west side of the Ganges to Rajemahel; while the other, under the orders of Raja Mohun Loll, crossed that river at Surdah, and marched towards the appointed place on the north-east side.

Whilst these two young men were actually engaged in hostilities against each other, they could not restrain the violence and perverseness of their dispositions: they each of them gave offence to the old officers, who had long served under their fathers or grandfather: and though neither of them was capable of directing even his own domestics, they would not listen to the advice of the sensible persons in their courts, who were sincere well-wishers of their family, respecting the government of the countries under their charge, but consulted only the rash and profligate beings of their own creation. Such conduct induced the author of the *Sier Mutakhereen*, although a relation of the family, to say: "It having been decreed by "Providence that the guilty race of Aly Verdy Khan should "be deprived of a dominion that had cost so much toil in "acquiring, it was for a time consigned to the hands of two "young men, Seraje ad Dowlah, and Shokut Jung; both "equally vain, cruel, and incapable of government; and who, "by their flagitious conduct, shortly caused the flames of "destruction to burst forth from the edifice erected by their "progenitor."

When Shokut Jung was informed of the advance of Seraje ad Dowlah, he ordered his officers to fix on a proper

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spot for the rendezvous of his army, where he might be able to oppose his adversary with the greatest effect. Some of the officers who had served under his father, and possessed good abilities, selected a situation near Nuwabgunge, on the confines of Purneah, which was strong by nature, and might easily be defended against a superior force: it was covered in front by deep morasses of many miles extent, across which there was only one causeway; whilst the rear of the position, being open to a productive country, insured an ample supply of provisions to the camp. In drawing up the troops, however, the greatest irregularity was practised; for as Shokut Jung knew nothing of the matter himself, and would not entrust the command to any other person, the commandant of each corps encamped in what he considered the most convenient situation; thus parts of the army which was not very numerous were separated by an interval of four miles: and Shokut Jung, instead of daily reviewing the troops, did not join the army till the advanced parties of the enemy appeared in sight.

At length Shokut Jung came to the camp: he was attended by a body-guard of cavalry which he had raised himself, another corps of horse commanded by his brother, and a regiment of 1000 matchlock-men. As soon as he arrived, the principal officers waited on him to pay their respects; but even at that time, instead of ingratiating himself with them by his complaisance, he added to their disgust by the moroseness of his behaviour; nor would he give them any orders for their conduct, but desired them to return to their respective encampments, and there await his commands. About nine o'clock, the division of Seraje

ad Dowlah's army, under the command of Raja Mohun Loll and Meer Jaffier, came in sight, but drew up at a very considerable distance, whence they commenced a cannonade. The balls of the smaller pieces fell into the lake or morass, but those of the heavy guns lodged in the camp; and one of them passing near Shokut Jung, he was much alarmed, and ordered the standards and other insignia of his rank to be lowered down. An old Afghan officer, who had seen much service, and was standing near, said, "My lord and master, "what kind of a battle is this? I never saw any thing like "it, when I served in the Dekkan, under Nizam al Moolk: "this is not the way: here every man does as he pleases. The "army should be drawn out in lines, and ranged in battle-array; "and the artillery should be placed in front: the troops must "be united in compact bodies, and act together: then only "can victory be expected." Shokut Jung took this remonstrance very ill. He abused Nizam al Moolk as a blockhead, and said, "I have no occasion to be taught what I am to do, for "I have myself fought three hundred battles."

In the meantime, Sham Sunder, the Hindoo commander of the artillery, who was possessed of much bravery but no experience, finding that his guns would not reach those of the enemy, quitted his entrenchment behind the morass, and advanced over the causeway to the other side, where he commenced a cannonade. On seeing this, Shokut Jung sent orders to the cavalry also to cross the morass and attack the enemy. The commanders of the cavalry remonstrated, that he was giving up the advantages of his situation; and that he should wait the attack; as whoever crossed the morass must engage to great disadvantage. He sent them another message,

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that they were a set of cowards: that they ought to take example by Sham Sunder, who although a Hindoo *scribe*, was bravely pouring his balls into the ranks of the enemy, while they talked of prudence and caution. These taunts provoked the commanders of the cavalry, and they ordered their men to mount and to cross the lake.

It being then about three o'clock in the day, Shokut Jung, having taken his inebriating draught, retired to his tent, to amuse himself with the songs of his women. After some time, intelligence was brought to him, that the cavalry, having waded through the mud, were engaged with the enemy, who had killed a number of them, and were pressing on the artillery. At this time he was so much intoxicated that he could not sit erect: but as his presence was requisite to encourage the troops, some of the officers placed him on his elephant, with a servant to support him; and caused the driver to advance towards the causeway, where in a short time a musquet-ball struck Shokut Jung in the forehead, and sent his soul to the other world. On beholding this event, the rout became general, and every man made the best of his way to Purneah. The troops of Seraje ad Dowlah, having had a long march that day, did not pursue: but two days after, Raja Mohun Loll entered Purneah, and took possession of all the wealth and property of Shokut Jung; which he despatched, with the women and children belonging to the deceased, or of his father Sayid Ahmed, to Moorshudabad. He then regulated the country: and, having placed his own son in charge of Purneah, he went to join his master, who had not proceeded further than Rajemahel. Seraje ad Dowlah, however, assumed great merit from

this conquest, and returned with great pomp and rejoicing to Moorshudabad. SECT. VI.

It now becomes requisite to revert to the affairs of the English.

Affairs of the English Company, June 1756.

It has been before stated, that Mr. Drake, the Governor of Calcutta, having, with part of the garrison, effected his escape to the ships which were anchored at Govindpore, as soon as he found the fort was in possession of the enemy, proceeded down the river to Fulta, where he was joined by several vessels coming from sea: the Company's agents, likewise, from the subordinate factories at Dacca, Jugdea, and other places, having, on the first alarm, escaped from those situations, resorted to the fleet. For some time no provisions could be procured: but as soon as the Nuwab's army left Calcutta, the country people ventured to supply them. The want of convenient shelter, and the fear of being surprised, obliged them all to sleep on board the vessels; which were so much crowded, that all lay promiscuously on the decks, without shelter from the heavy rain of the season; and the lower part of Bengal, between the arms of the Ganges, being perhaps one of the most unhealthy countries in the world, a malignant fever shortly broke out amongst them, from which none of the ships were exempted.

Mr. Drake having resolved to remain in that situation till he should receive orders from Madras, had early in July despatched Mr. Manningham in a small vessel to the coast. Upon the arrival of that gentleman at Madras, the government of Fort St. George, which had just received intelligence of the breaking out of a war with France, were overwhelmed with regret and astonishment; but, after some time spent in debate and consultation, they at length, in concert with Admiral

SECT. VI. A. D. 1756. Watson, the commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships in India, resolved to make war on the Nuwab of Bengal; and not only to compel him to restore Calcutta and the other factories, but to make him pay for the losses the Company had sustained, and all the expenses of the war.

As soon as this point was determined, a quick-sailing sloop was despatched to Mr. Drake, to inform him of the intentions of the Madras government, and to desire him to take such steps as he thought might conduce to the success of the enterprise.

The English, under Adm. Watson and Col. Clive, make war on the Nuwab.

Notwithstanding all the exertions of Governor Pigot and Admiral Watson, it was the month of October before the expedition could be equipped: it consisted of three line-of-battle ships, one of fifty and one of twenty guns, with a fire-ship, and three of the Company's vessels and two smaller transports. The land-forces consisted of 900 European soldiers, and 1500 Sepoys, under the command of the celebrated Colonel Clive. The Colonel carried letters, written by Salabut Jung the Soubahdar of the Dekkan, Mohammed Aly the Nuwab of Arcot, and Governor Pigot, exhorting Seraje ad Dowlah to make reparation to the English for the injuries they had suffered from his unprovoked hostility. The instructions to Colonel Clive recommended the attack of Moorshudabad itself, if the Nuwab continued obstinate; and the capture of the French settlement of Chandernagore, if news of the war should arrive whilst the troops remained in Bengal.

The fleet sailed from Madras the 16th of October; but as the north-west monsoon had by that time set in, they were obliged to cross the Bay of Bengal, and to beat up against it, along the western shore: by this adverse circumstance, half

the fleet was separated, and the remainder were six weeks in making the voyage, which at a favourable season is done in six or seven days; and it was the 20th of December before they could reach Fulta, and even then with the absence of two of the vessels of most consequence; viz. the Cumberland of seventy guns, on which was embarked 250 of the best soldiers; and the Marlborough, the Company's ship, on which had been embarked all the field artillery. Upon the arrival of the expedition at Fulta, Colonel Clive sent the letters he had brought from Madras to Manickchund, the governor of Calcutta, accompanied by one from himself and the Admiral; but the latter being couched in threatening and indecorous terms, the Governor refused to forward it.

On the 27th of December the whole fleet got under weigh, and on the following day reached Myapore, ten miles below Budgebudge. Colonel Clive having resolved to attack that fort, landed his men during the night, and some hours before day, of the 29th, commenced his march; but the roads being excessively bad, and the guide, having led them astray, the sun had been risen above an hour before they reached the vicinity of the fort: it therefore became requisite to allow the troops some time to rest themselves; and as no suspicion was entertained of there being any armed force, except the garrison, in that neighbourhood, the usual precautions of posting picquets and sentries were not observed. In a short time, the men, being much fatigued, fell asleep: in this situation they were attacked by Manickchund, governor of Calcutta, with 1500 cavalry and 2000 infantry; and if the former had done their duty, might have cut off the English to a man.

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A scene of great confusion ensued; but the English, having at length opened their field-pieces, and directed them towards Manickchund, who was rendered very conspicuous by being mounted on an elephant, and one of the balls passing close to his head, he was alarmed, and gave the signal for a general retreat. About this time, the Kent, of sixty-four guns, having anchored opposite the fort, quickly silenced the cannon thereof; but the troops being much fatigued, it was determined to delay the assault till next morning: as soon, however, as it was dark, the garrison abandoned the place; and in the night, one of the sailors, having got drunk, straggled to the ditch, which he crossed, and climbed up the rampart; where finding no person, he called out, to the nearest English guard, that he had taken the fort.

On the 30th of December the fleet took possession of the forts of Aly Ghur and Tanna, without any opposition.

In the meantime, Manickchund, the governor of Calcutta and Hoogly, having been much alarmed by the engagement at Budgebudge, hastened to meet the Nuwab, leaving only a garrison of 500 men in Calcutta.

The English retake Fort-William and Calcutta.

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On the 1st of January, Colonel Clive, with the greatest part of the troops, landed, and marched along the high road from Aly Ghur to Calcutta; but the ships, having reached the fort some time before him, in two hours compelled the garrison to retreat: it was then taken possession of by Captain Coote, with a detachment from the ships; and on the following day Mr. Drake was restored to his government.

On the 4th of the month, a detachment, consisting of 150 Europeans and 200 Sepoys, was embarked on board the twenty-gun ship, a sloop of war, and three other vessels, and

proceeded to the attack of Hoogly. Owing to the twenty-gun ship striking on a sand-bank, it was the 10th before they reached their destination. The troops were then landed; and the ships having in a few hours made a breach, it was stormed, and the garrison, consisting of 2000 men, made a precipitate retreat.

About this time intelligence reached Calcutta, that war had been declared between France and Great Britain, in the preceding month of May. As there were 300 soldiers and a good train of field artillery in Chandernagore, the Governor and Council of Calcutta were very apprehensive that the French would immediately join the Nuwab, with whom it was thought the English force would not then be able to contend. In this persuasion, they determined to open a negotiation for peace: accordingly, Colonel Clive wrote a letter to the bankers of Moorshudabad, named Seat, and to Omichund the Calcutta merchant, requesting them to act as mediators.

It is probable, that if these overtures had been made previous to the capture of Hoogly, they would have been attended to; but after that event, the Nuwab was so exasperated, that he vowed vengeance against the English; and even his most favourite courtiers durst not mention to him the subject of peace; whilst his secret enemies were anxious to see him embroiled with a foe, through whose assistance they might hope for a revolution.

The Nuwab therefore, after the usual delay of Eastern courts, commenced his march, with a numerous army, [redacted] Calcutta; and on the 30th of January recrossed the river, about ten miles above Hoogly.

In the meantime, the English had not been negligent in making preparations to oppose his progress. They withdrew

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their troops from Hoogly; and fortified a camp, with several out-posts around it, a mile to the north of Calcutta, and half a mile from the bank of the river. There was, however, a space left unguarded of nearly two miles, between the right flank of the camp and the salt-water lake: through this opening the Nuwab passed with his army, and encamped with his own troops withinside of the Mahratta ditch; but the greater part of his forces lay between the Mahratta ditch and the lake.

The proximity of so large a force determined Colonel Clive to make an attack upon the Nuwab's camp at midnight. The troops destined for this enterprise were 600 sailors, armed with musquets; the European battalion, consisting of 650 rank and file; 100 artillery-men, with six field-pieces; and 800 Sepoys; but as there were neither horses nor bullocks with the army, the guns were dragged, and the ammunition carried, by *Lascars* and sailors. A little before dawn of day the English line entered the Nuwab's camp, and commenced firing to the right and left; but a thick fog coming on, they lost the road, and wandered about the encampment for several hours, without effecting any thing of consequence, and returned to their own camp about noon.

The Nuwab was however so much alarmed, that the day after he moved his camp several miles distant; and desired Runjeet Roy, the agent of the Seats, who attended him on the expedition, to write to Colonel Clive that he was willing to enter into a negotiation. In consequence of this communication, several messages were brought and carried by Omichund and Runjeet Roy; and on the 9th of February a treaty was concluded*.

* See Appendix.

On the 11th, the Nuwab removed a few miles further off, and sent *khelaats*, or dresses of honour, to the Admiral and Colonel Clive; and through his agents, Omichund and Runjeet Roy, proposed an alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies. This proposal was accepted without hesitation, and the treaty was ratified and sent back the same day.

At the request of the Nuwab, a party of twenty artillerymen was sent to him, as an escort; and Mr. Watts was appointed to reside at his court. This business being settled, the Nuwab proceeded towards Moorshudabad.

It has been before stated, that when Colonel Clive took charge of the expedition, he was instructed by the Madras government, that should intelligence arrive, whilst he was in Bengal, of the actual commencement of hostilities between the French and English, he should endeavour to seize upon the French settlement of Chandernagore. The above intelligence did arrive while the English army were employed in the capture of Hoogly; but so formidable was the French force at Chandernagore, that, instead of attacking it, the Governor and Council of Calcutta were very apprehensive that the French would join the Nuwab.

But as soon as peace was concluded between the Nuwab and the English, and the treaty of alliance offensive and defensive ratified, the latter, through their agent Omichund, asked his permission to attack Chandernagore. This application appears to have been quite unexpected by the Nuwab, and very contrary to his inclinations: but as he was afraid of another rupture with the English, he declined giving any orders on the subject. Colonel Clive therefore determined to prosecute the enterprise; and on the 18th of February crossed the river,

SECT. VI. a few miles above Calcutta, and encamped on the opposite
A. D. 1757. shore.

Previous to this overt act of hostility, the French had obtained intelligence of Colonel Clive's designs; and immediately sent letters to the Nuwab, as he valued his own safety to protect their settlement. Their messengers overtook him at Aguadeep, a town forty miles south of Moorshudabad; where he halted, and immediately wrote a letter peremptorily commanding the English to desist from their intention. He also sent to the French a present of 100,000 rupees, and directed Nuncomar, the Governor of Hoogly, to assist them. He also directed a reinforcement to be sent from his army to Hoogly. All these circumstances he afterwards denied; and Colonel Clive, finding him so wavering in his disposition, after a considerable delay occasioned by objections and scruples on the part of Admiral Watson, gave orders for the attack of Chandernagore.

The principal difficulty in this undertaking was, to get the ships of war up the river; for the French had taken the precaution of sinking several vessels laden with bricks in the channel: but by the assistance of a Monsieur Terrano, a deserter, who pointed out the places where the vessels were sunk, and the extreme precaution and skill of Captain Speke, the difficulty was overcome.

On the 14th of March, the English army entered the French territory, and commenced hostilities: but the attack on the fort did not commence till the 22d; when the batteries having been completed, and two of the ships destined for the attack, viz. the Kent of 64 and the Tiger of 60, (for the Salisbury could not gain her station,) being anchored opposite the fort, the contest began at sun-rise, by the fire from the two batteries on the land

side, which was shortly followed by that from the ships. The cannonade was very fierce on both parts, as the garrison fought with great bravery; but at nine o'clock the French hung out a flag of truce, and at three Chandernagore was taken. During the time that messages were passing concerning the terms of surrender, a part of the garrison marched away, to offer their services to the Nuwab.

Chandernagore taken.

In order to account for Seraje ad Dowlah's having thus abandoned the French to their fate, it is requisite to state, that about this period the Afghans of Cabul, under their king Ahmed Shah Abdally, again invaded Hindoostan, and, by the invitation of Aalumgeer the Second, came to Dehly, to rescue him out of the power of his servants*; and it was reported that Abdally intended to pay the Eastern provinces a visit, and to call the Governors to account for the many years' revenue they had neglected to send to the Imperial treasury.

This circumstance was taken hold of by the partisans of the English, and the other enemies of the Nuwab, to work upon his fears, and to prevent him from doing that which was so obviously his interest; for, at this time, Meer Jaffier Khan, Roy Dullub the Dewan, the Seats, and Gheseety Begum, were all so disgusted with Seraje ad Dowlah's conduct, that they were anxious for an opportunity of deposing him.

The part of the garrison which had escaped from Chandernagore reached the French factory at Cossimbazar in safety, and were immediately taken under the Nuwab's protection. On this, Colonel Clive wrote to him, to demand not only their being delivered up, but also that the English should be allowed

* See *Dow's Hindoostan*, vol. II. Reign of Aalumgeer the Second.

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to take possession of the French factory at Cossimbazar. So bold a demand provoked Seraje ad Dowlah to an excess of passion, and he threatened Mr. Watts with instant death; but soon recollecting the imprudence of this threat, which would doubtless bring on him the vengeance of the English, and being at the same time solicitous of preserving the French for future contingencies, he furnished Mr. Law, the chief of the Cossimbazar factory, with money, arms, and ammunition; and ordered him to march, with all his men, as if proceeding to Patna, but with a promise of recalling him, should his services be required.

Mr. Law, who appears to have been well acquainted with the politics of Moorshudabad, told the Nuwab, that most of his chiefs were dissatisfied with him, that they were leaguing with the English against him, and that, on the departure of the French, the smothered flame would burst forth and destroy him. Seraje ad Dowlah felt the truth of his observation, but had not resolution to detain him: he however promised to send for him, should any thing occur: but Mr. Law prophetically said, "I know we shall never meet again." Accordingly, this body of adventurers, consisting of 100 Europeans, sixty Coromandel sepoys, with thirty small carriages and four elephants, passed through Moorshudabad on the 16th of April, and, having crossed the river, proceeded towards Behar.

By this time, the mutual suspicions between the Nuwab and the English were so much increased, that Colonel Clive thought a rupture inevitable, and therefore determined to send a detachment in pursuit of the French; but before he had time to carry his resolution into effect, he received intelligence from Mr. Watts, that the conspirators had made overtures to

him. The person first employed in this negotiation was named Yār Luttief Khan, an officer who commanded 2000 horse in the service of Seraje ad Dowlah, but who received a monthly allowance from the Seats, to defend them against any act of oppression, even from the Nuwab. This overture seems to have been made merely to sound the disposition of the English, but was soon after followed by a specific proposal from Meer Jaffier Khan. It stated, that being in daily fear of his life, he was, from self-defence, compelled to take measures for deposing the Nuwab; that he was well supported by the Dewan Roy Dullub, Gheseety Begum, the Seats, and many principal officers of the army; and had no doubt of success, if the English would join him: and that for such assistance he would recompense them in the most ample manner, and grant them every privilege, with regard to trade, that they might desire. SECT. VI. A. D. 1757.

The Governor and Council of Calcutta considered the proposal made by Meer Jaffier as the most fortunate event which could happen; as, in the embarrassed and perplexed state of their affairs, it was impossible for them to make any advances of money on account of the Company's mercantile concerns, or to re-establish their subordinate factories: they therefore directed Mr. Watts to carry on the negotiation, with the assistance of Omichund the merchant; on whose fidelity, as he had a large property in houses in Calcutta, they thought they might depend.

In the mean time, Seraje ad Dowlah received intelligence, from his spies, that the English were making military preparations; and suspecting that they intended to march towards Moorshudabad, he ordered the division of his army which was encamped near Plassey to be reinforced; and believing that the English ships of war might proceed up the eastern branch of

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the Ganges, to the northern point of the Cossimbazar island, and come down the Bhagarutty to Moorshudabad, he commanded immense piles to be driven in the river at Sooty, by which the passage of that river has been rendered merely navigable by boats, and that only during half the year. He also commanded Mr. Law to halt, with the French detachment, at Bhaugulpore, and directed his Aumils to supply them with every thing they required. He further endeavoured to ingratiate himself again with Meer Jaffier and other officers; and they, in order to cover their designs, frequented his court as formerly, and flattered him by their attention.

After a great deal of intrigue, and much personal risk to Mr. Watts, the Resident at the Nuwab's court, the annexed treaty, written in Persian, was signed and sworn to by Meer Jaffier Khan *.

On the 10th of June, the treaty was brought to Calcutta; and by some inadvertency the circumstance became known. Colonel Clive therefore found it requisite either to relinquish the confederacy, and abandon the conspirators to their fate, or to commence hostilities without delay. On the 12th, the troops which were at Calcutta, with 150 sailors from the squadron, proceeded and joined that part of the army which was quartered at Chandernagore. All the necessary preparations having been previously made, the whole army marched from Chandernagore on the following day, leaving a hundred sailors to garrison that place. The Europeans and artillery proceeded by water, on board of two hundred large boats; and the sepoys marched by a road which ran near the river side.

* See Appendix.

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Upon the boats approaching Hoogly, the Governor refused to let them pass; but the 20-gun ship coming up, and anchoring before the fort, together with a threatening letter sent to him by Colonel Clive, induced him to forego his intention, and the fleet passed on.

As soon as the army had passed Hoogly, the Colonel sent away two of the Nuwab's messengers, who were in his camp, with a letter; accusing his Highness of not having fulfilled the treaty of February; and of having invited and given encouragement to the French, and oppressed and insulted the English. He concluded by saying, he was on his way to Moorshudabad, to demand justice.

Previous to the delivery of this letter, the Nuwab had received some confused intelligence of the intrigues of Meer Jaffier, and resolved to seize him: for this purpose, he ordered a party of troops to surround his house; and many messages of threats and defiance passed between them. As soon, however, as the Nuwab was informed of the march of the English troops, and the desertion of Mr. Watts, he was overwhelmed with astonishment and dismay; but hoping still to be able to detach Meer Jaffier from his confederacy with the English, he revoked the orders he had given for attacking him, and employed several officers to bring about a reconciliation between them. But Meer Jaffier continuing long untractable, and refusing to visit the Nuwab, the latter got into his palanquin, and, attended by a small retinue, proceeded to Meer Jaffier's house. This visit produced an agreement, sanctified, as usual, by mutual oaths on the Koran. Jaffier promised neither to join or give assistance to the English in the impending contest; and the Nuwab agreed to permit him, as soon as peace should

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be restored, to depart with his family and wealth, wherever he chose to go.

The Nuwab, the day following this interview, ordered his whole army, in which was included the troops of Meer Jaffier, to assemble, with the utmost diligence, in the vicinity of Plassey; and sent orders to Mr. Law, who was waiting with his party at Bhaugulpore, to come to his assistance with the utmost expedition.

The English army arrived and halted on the 16th at Puttolee, a village where the high road to Moorshudabad, on the south side of the river, terminates; but as it was then the rainy season, and the greater part of the army proceeded by water, it was still requisite to keep by the river side, and to pass the fort of Cutwa, famous for the defeat of the Mahrattas by Aly Verdy Khan. The Governor of this place was in the interest of Meer Jaffier, and had promised to surrender it after a pretended resistance: Major Coote was therefore sent forward on the 17th, with 200 Europeans, 500 sepoys, one field-piece, and a small mortar, to summon the fort; but on the Major's arrival at Cutwa, he found the Governor had changed his mind: it therefore became necessary to attack it, and orders were accordingly given: but as soon as the garrison saw the troops advancing, they set fire to the mat buildings in the fort, and absconded. The main body of the English army arrived in the evening at Cutwa, and encamped on the plain; but on that night the rains set in with such violence, that the troops were obliged to take shelter in the town and adjacent villages.

Colonel Clive had despatched a letter every day, from his leaving Chandernagore, to Meer Jaffier; but had only received

an answer to one of them: it was dated the 16th; and in this Meer Jaffier acknowledged his seeming reconciliation with the Nuwab, but said he would still carry into execution his covenant with the English. The coldness of this letter, at so important a time, caused suspicions in the mind of the Colonel that treachery was intended: he therefore determined not to cross the river until his doubts should be removed. The two next days were spent in a state of suspense; but on the 19th a messenger arrived with two letters from Meer Jaffier; one of them addressed to his agent, Ameer Beg; the other to the Colonel: the contents were similar, viz. that the Nuwab's army would march from Moorshudabad on that day, and that his post would be on one flank of the army, whence he would send more explicit intelligence. This communication, although it abated Colonel Clive's suspicions of treachery, did not point out any mode by which their plans were to be effected; nor did it give him a high opinion of Meer Jaffier's resolution or energy. He therefore determined to consult his officers, the number of whom were twenty; and having assembled them, he proposed to their consideration, whether the army should immediately cross the river, and at all risks attack the Nuwab, or whether, availing themselves of the great quantity of rice they had taken in Cutwa, they should remain there during the rainy season, and invite the Mahrattas to enter the province and join them.

After much debate, the majority of the officers decided for the latter plan, there being only seven who voted for the immediate attack.

The sanction of the council of war did not, however, alleviate the anxiety of the Colonel; for as soon as it broke up,

SECT. VI. A. D 1757. he retired alone to an adjoining grove, where he remained nearly an hour in deep meditation; which convinced him of the absurdity of stopping where he was: and acting now entirely from the dictates of his own mind, he gave orders that the army should cross the river next morning.

The sick were lodged in the fort of Cutwa; and at sun-rise, on the 22d, the army began to cross, and all were landed on the opposite side by four in the afternoon; at which time another messenger arrived from Meer Jaffier, to inform the Colonel that the Nuwab had halted at Muncara, a village only six miles south of Cossimbazar, and intended to entrench his camp, and wait the event at that place; where Meer Jaffier proposed that the English, by taking a circuitous route, and getting in his rear, should attack him by surprise.

Colonel Clive immediately sent back the messenger with an answer, That he would march to Plassey without delay; and the next morning would advance to Daoodpore; where, if Meer Jaffier did not meet him, he should make peace with the Nuwab.

At sun-set the troops got under arms; and, after a fatiguing march, arrived, at one o'clock in the morning, at Plassey; and immediately took possession of a mango-grove, eight hundred yards in length, and three hundred in breadth, which was surrounded by a slight bank and ditch: but, to their great surprise, they found, by the frequent sound of drums and trumpets, that they were at a very little distance from the enemy's camp.

It appears that the Nuwab had changed his determination of entrenching his camp at Muncara, and had arrived in the vicinity of Plassey the preceding evening. After giving his orders for the security of his camp, he dismissed the officers,

and sat ruminating in his tent on the events that were likely to ensue. It chanced that his attendants quitted him, one after another, to say their evening prayers; when a thief entered the tent unperceived, till he had nearly approached the Nuwab; who, starting up from his reverie, called out to his attendants; and, on their coming, abused them for their negligence, and asked them if they considered him as already dead?

As soon as it was day, both armies drew out in line of battle. The English force consisted of 800 European infantry, 100 artillery-men, and fifty sailors attached to the guns, which consisted only of eight six-pounders, and two howitzers: there were also 100 Topasses, or Indian Portuguese, and 2100 sepoys. The Nuwab's army consisted of 18,000 well-mounted and armed horse, 50,000 infantry armed with various weapons, as matchlocks, bows, rockets, spears and swords, and fifty pieces of cannon, chiefly twenty-four and thirty-two pounders. He had also forty Frenchmen, with four pieces of light artillery.

The engagement commenced by a distant cannonade, without much advantage on either side; but about noon a very heavy shower of rain came on, which damaged the Nuwab's powder, and caused the enemy's fire to slacken: whilst that of the English continued without interruption; and although few of the shot struck the cannon against which they were directed, they had made considerable impression on the troops which were drawn up in the rear of the artillery.

During all this time, no message or intelligence arrived from Meer Jaffier, and the Colonel began to be suspicious of his intentions: he therefore sent for Ameer Beg, and questioned him on the subject. The Agent replied, that the troops who engaged the English were those under Meer Mudden

SECT. VI. A. D. 1757.

and Raja Mohun Loll; and as soon as they should be defeated, he was certain his master would join the Colonel.

The Nuwab had remained in his tent, out of the reach of danger, continually flattered by his attendants with assurances of victory; but soon after twelve o'clock a cannon-ball struck Meer Mudden, who was truly a brave man and faithful servant. He was immediately carried to the Nuwab; and having uttered a few words, expressive of his own loyalty, and the want of it in others, died in his presence. This affecting sight quite overcame the courage of Seraje ad Dowlah: he was involved in despair, and knew not what to do. He at length sent for Meer Jaffier; and placing his turban at his feet, said, "I now "truly repent of my behaviour towards you; and call upon "you, in the name of your respected brother-in-law, and my "grandfather, the late Nuwab Aly Verdy Khan, to forgive "what has passed: I now regard you as his representative; "and conjure you, out of respect to his memory, and as a "descendant of the Prophet, to protect my life and my honour." Meer Jaffier promised he would do so; but advised, as much of the day was spent, and the troops had been long under arms, that they should be recalled to camp, and that in the morning he would repulse the enemy. The Nuwab expressed his fears that the English would attack him during the night; but Jaffier assuring him that he would guard against that event, he sent orders to his Dewan, Raja Mohun Loll, to return to the camp. The Raja returned a polite but determined refusal, saying, that if he should retire, alarm would thereby be spread among the troops, who would probably take to flight, and throw the whole army into confusion. Meer Jaffier, however, insisted on the retreat, and

Mohun Loll reluctantly returned to the camp about two o'clock in the day. SECT. VI. A.D. 1757.

As soon as Meer Jaffier returned to his own tent, he wrote a letter to Colonel Clive, informing him of what had passed; and advising him either to push forward immediately, or to attack the camp at night: but the messenger, fearing to proceed while the firing continued, did not deliver the letter.

The ponderous cannon of the Nuwab, which during the engagement had been advanced a considerable distance in front of the camp, were mounted on platforms of a very large size placed on wheels, and not only conveyed all the ammunition, but afforded space for the men to work the gun: each of these required forty or fifty yoke of oxen to move them: great therefore was the confusion when they commenced their return to camp, exposed to the unremitting fire of the field-pieces of the English; who, taking advantage of the circumstance, advanced towards the entrenchment of the camp, but were some time kept in check by the four light guns managed by Sinfray and the other Frenchmen, and by showers of matchlock-balls from the entrenchment. About the same time, the troops of Meer Jaffier approached towards the right flank of the English, with an intention of joining them; but their signals not being understood, they were fired at, and compelled to keep aloof. At length Colonel Clive, being convinced that they were friends, ordered his troops to push on to the camp; and at five o'clock entered the entrenchments, which he found abandoned, and the enemy flying on all sides.

The Nuwab's troops, as Raja Mohun Loll had predicted, on seeing their artillery returning to the camp, concluded that a general retreat was ordered: they therefore began to quit

SECT. VI. A. D. 1757.

the field in large bodies; and Seraje ad Dowlah, observing this desertion, and much alarmed by the approach of the English, mounted a camel, and, accompanied by 2000 horse, retreated towards Moorshudabad. He arrived at his palace early next morning; where, although he besought those who had accompanied him from the camp to remain till he could prepare for his escape, and fix upon some place of refuge, he could not prevail on them to stay with him. Fortune had turned her back, and mankind abandoned him. He remained at Munsoorgunge till midnight; when, taking with him his jewels and a large sum of money upon elephants, accompanied by his wife Lootf al Nissa, and one or two other women, in covered carriages, he hastened to Bogwangola; where he embarked upon some of his own boats which were stationed there, and proceeded up the river, in hopes of meeting Mr. Law with the French detachment whom he had ordered to join him, or of effecting his escape to Purneah; but on his arrival opposite to Rajemahel, he and his women being oppressed with hunger, they stopt at the cell of a Mohammedan derveish, named Dana Shah, and requested him to procure them some food. To this man Seraje ad Dowlah, in the days of his prosperity, had offered an affront, the remembrance of which still rankled in his mind: he, however, received them courteously, and set about preparing some *kechcery* for them; but privately despatched one of his servants across the river, to Meer Cossim, the brother of Meer Jaffier Khan, who commanded the troops at Rajemahel; and who, upon the receipt of the intelligence, immediately proceeded to the cell of the derveish, and seized upon the unfortunate fugitive. They first conveyed him to Rajemahel, and then proceeded with him to Jaffier Khan's

The Nuwab seized.

house in Moorshudabad, where he arrived on the 15th of Showal 1170. Meer Jaffier being then absent at Munsoorgunge, he was delivered to Meerun the son of Jaffier, a young man of a very worthless character, who immediately offered a sum of money to any of his attendants who would go and put an end to Seraje ad Dowlah. For some time they all refused; but at length a wretch, named Mohammed Beg, who from his infancy had been nourished by the favour of Aly Verdy Khan's family, offered to execute the horrid deed. SECT. VI. July 1757.

At the time they seized Seraje ad Dowlah, and while they were conveying him to Moorshudabad, he requested the officer commanding the guard to make it known, that if they would spare his life, he would willingly retire to any part of the province upon a small pension. When therefore the assassin entered his apartment, he said, "Art thou come to kill me? "What! will they not let me live in obscurity?" he added, "No, no, it cannot be! I must die, to atone for the murder "of Hussein Cooly Khan*." Time was not given him to say more. After the assassin had inflicted several wounds, he sunk to the ground, and said, "Enough, enough! Hussein "Cooly, thou art revenged!" Immediately after which he yielded up his soul to his Maker†. Thus perished Seraje ad Dowlah, in the 20th year of his age, and the 15th month of his government. He was remarkable for the beauty of his person; and perhaps owed his misfortunes to a neglected education, and the doating fondness of his grandfather. Death of the Nuwab.

* See page 496.

† This is, perhaps, a solitary instance of a native of Hindoostan expressing a consciousness of guilt on his death-bed. Being absolute predestinarians, they lay the fault to fate; and, after a life spent in every species of atrocity, pass their last moments in tranquillity.

SECT. VI.
A.D. 1757.

We must now leave this melancholy scene, and return to the successful party. As soon as the English army entered the Nuwab's camp, they were met by the messenger whom Meer Jaffier had despatched soon after noon. A second letter was shortly delivered to Colonel Clive from him, apologizing for not having sooner joined him; but that he was now ready to wait on him, if agreeable. The Colonel fearing to halt in the camp, where the troops would certainly be tempted to separate, in search of the rich plunder which was scattered all around them, and be liable to be thus cut off by the enemy, informed Meer Jaffier's messenger, that he meant to proceed that night to Daoodpore, about six miles further, where he should be happy to see his master in the morning.

The English troops having been told that they should be rewarded with a handsome donation of money, in lieu of the plunder of the camp, received the order to march on with loud acclamations, leaving an immense property to be taken possession of by Meer Jaffier's forces; and at eight o'clock the whole army arrived at Daoodpore. This important victory was gained with very little loss; the number of Europeans killed and wounded were only twenty; and of the Sepoys and Lascars, fifty-two; many of whom were very slightly injured.

On the morning of the 24th of June, Colonel Clive sent Mr. Scrafton, and Ameer Beg, to Meer Jaffier, who had encamped about a mile from Daoodpore, to say he should be happy then to see him. Meer Jaffier received the deputies with much reserve, and an air of anxiety; as if he apprehended that the English would resent his conduct, in not having joined, and having allowed them to bear all the brunt of the battle without any assistance or encouragement. He,

however, accompanied them to the English camp, attended by his son Meerun, and his usual retinue. On approaching the Colonel's tent, he alighted from his elephant, and the guard drew out and saluted him in the usual manner. Not knowing the meaning of this compliment, he started back, fearing it was a plot to assassinate him. Colonel Clive, however, advanced immediately, and, taking him in his arms, saluted him as Nuwab of the three provinces, which removed his fears. They conferred about an hour; during which the Colonel advised him to proceed immediately to Moorshudabad, to endeavour to secure Seraje ad Dowlah, and to prevent the treasury being plundered. Meer Jaffier returned to his camp, and immediately marched towards the city. He arrived in the evening; but did not take any measures to prevent the departure of Seraje ad Dowlah, who left his palace, as has been before related, six hours after the arrival of Meer Jaffier. SECT. VI. A. D. 1757.

The English troops made a short march on the evening of the 24th; and on the following day, about noon, arrived at Moidapore, in the vicinity of Moorshudabad.

As soon as the army was encamped, Colonel Clive sent Mr. Watts and Mr. Walsh, attended by a hundred sepoys, to pay Meer Jaffier a visit of ceremony. This visit confirmed the hopes of all the partisans of Meer Jaffier, and clearly pointed out to the inhabitants of the city whom they were to consider as their future master.

Some difficulties having occurred respecting the payment of the compensation due to the English, which amounted to 2,750,000*l.* sterling, Colonel Clive did not enter the city till the morning of the 29th; when, escorted by a guard of 200 Europeans, and 300 sepoys, he took possession of the palace and

SECT. VI. A. D. 1757.

garden of Moraud Baug, which had been allotted for his residence.

Here he was immediately waited upon by Meerun the son of Jaffier, whom he shortly after accompanied to the palace at Munsoorgunge; and, upon entering the hall of audience, he there found Meer Jaffier, with a number of officers and the principal inhabitants of the city, expecting his arrival.

The English raise Meer Jaffier to the musnud. June 29.

At one end of the hall was placed the musnud of Seraje ad Dowlah; which Meer Jaffier appearing to avoid, Colonel Clive took him by the hand, and, leading him to it, seated him thereon. He then presented him with a salver of gold mohrs, and congratulated him on his accession to the musnud of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. This example was immediately followed by all the persons present; and the event was announced to the public by the discharge of cannon and the sounds of martial music.

From this period, the power and influence of the English became paramount in Bengal*: and were we further to continue this History, it would be requisite to commence a new section, under the title of *The Native Governors under the English Dynasty.*

* A very few months after Meer Jaffier's accession, he was nick-named, by one of the wits of the court, "Colonel Clive's ass," and retained the title till his death.

In justice to the memory of Colonel Clive, I think it requisite to state, that none of the Native Historians impute any participation in the death of Seraje ad Dowlah, to him. It is generally believed, that the capture of the Nuwab was kept a secret from the Colonel, till after he had suffered.

# *LIST of the NUWABS of BENGAL*

SINCE THE YEAR 1757.

*Oct.* 1760. COSSIM ALY KHAN succeeded as Deputy to MEER JAFFIER who retired upon an ample pension.

*July* 1763. MEER JAFFIER was again appointed, in the room of COSSIM ALY KHAN expelled.

*Jan.* 1765. NEJIM AD DOWLAH, eldest son of MEER JAFFIER, succeeded on the death of his father.

This year the EAST-INDIA COMPANY received, from the Emperor SHAH AALUM (King of the World), the appointment of DEWAN of the Three Provinces.

*May* 1766. SIEF AD DOWLAH (to whom a pension was granted, and the business of Nazim managed by Deputy) succeeded his Brother, NEJIM AD DOWLAH, who died of the small-pox.

*Mar.* 1770. MUBARIC AD DOWLAH, on the same terms, succeeded his Brother, SIEF AD DOWLAH, who died of an epidemic disease†.

*Sept.* 1793. NAZIR AL MOOLK succeeded his father, MUBARIC AD DOWLAH.

*April* 1810. ZYN ADDEEN ALY KHAN (the present Nuwab) succeeded NAZIR AL MOOLK. He receives a pension from the English, but has nothing to do with the Government.

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† The Office of Deputy Nazim was annulled in 1790; and Courts of Justice, with English Judges, appointed to every district.

# APPENDIX.

IT may be necessary to premise, that the following Documents are copied *verbatim* from the ancient Records; and that the Translations were made by Armenians, or other Foreigners, as none of the Company's Servants at that time understood Persian.

It appears extraordinary, that as the East-India Company were then supplied with WRITERS from CHRIST'S-CHURCH HOSPITAL, they did not select a few of them to learn the Oriental Languages. It would have saved much money, and prevented many quarrels.

## APPENDIX, No. I. (referred to in p. 244.)

### *Extract of a Letter from William Methwold, &c. dated Surat, 21st February, 1633, to the Company.*

THE 2d present, we received from Agra the King's Firmand, which gives liberty of trade unto us in his whole Country of Bengala; but restrains our shipping only unto the Port of Piply; which Firmand was sent unto us by a servant of our own, which was dispeeded unto Agra.

[No. 989.]

[N.B. The Firmān not being procurable, Mr. Bruce obligingly favoured me with the above Letter, in which it is mentioned.—*C. S.*

The reference at the bottom of page 244 should have been February 1633-4.]

## APPENDIX, No. II. (referred to in p. 255.)

## *Translate of Sultan Shauh Shujaes Neshaun, Letters Patent to the English in Bengala.* A.D. 1656. A.H. 1066.

THE Neshaun, or Letters Patent of the most magnificent Prince Sultan Shujah, given the sixth month in the year of Hegira, one thousand sixty-six, in the 28th year of the Emperor Shah Jehaun his glorious reign.

BE IT KNOWN to all Great Governors, Chancellors, Farmers of the King's Rents, Colonels, Captains, Rent Gatherers, Farmers of Customs, Watchmen, Ferrymen, and other Petty Officers, that now are in place, and hereafter shall be, in the Kingdoms of Bengala and Orixa, that this day Thomas Billidge, an Englishman, humbly presented his suit before our splendid throne, acquainting us that the English Company's goods, according to the Great Emperor's Letters Patent, which are unalterable, are, by His free grant therein specified, custom free all over his great Empire; humbly desiring us that there may a privilege be granted them, by us, to trade custom free in these parts; as also complaining that at present their trade with the Country Merchants, our subjects, is much hindered by our Governors of Port, Towns, &c. demanding the English goods at their own rates, and forbidding any merchants to buy or sell with them, unless they condescend to their actions; and that the Officers in the port, town, &c. demand four in the hundred custom on all goods imported and exported, as also anchorage in the roads belonging to these kingdoms of Bengala and Orixa.

Upon due consideration had of all which, we were pleased to grant, and hereby command you, that, according to the above-mentioned Letters Patent of the Great Emperor, whose words no man dare presume to reverse, the factory of the English Company be no more troubled with demands of custom for goods imported or exported either by land or by water, nor that their goods be opened and forced from them at under rates in any places of government by which they shall pass or repass up and down the Country; but that they buy and sell freely, and without impediment, neither let any molestation be given them about anchorage, as formerly has been; also, wherever they have order to build factories or warehouses in any part of these Kingdoms, that they be not hindered, but forwarded; as also where there shall any just and due debts be coming to them from our subjects, that all persons in office be helpful to them in their recovery, giving protection to no weavers, merchants, or any other that shall appear to be really indebted to them. In all the aforesaid matters, especial regard is to be had that you carry yourselves strictly in obedience to the Great Emperor's Letters Patent, and this my Neshan now given the English Company, having an especial care that you fail not a little in your full compliance with our commands therein contained.

[*Diary kept by Streynsham Master, p.* 346 *to* 347. No. 120.]

## APPENDIX, No. III. (referred to in p. 301.)

### *Translate of Nabob Shausteth Caune, Lord of the Noblemen, his Confirmation of the English Privileges in the Kingdom of Bengala.* A. H. 1083. June, A. D. 1672.

THE Phyrwana, or Order, of Shasta Ckauns, the Lord of Noblemen, dated this third day of the 3d month, in the 15th year of the glorious reign of Aurungzeeb, Emperor of the World;

To all Great Officers, Chancellors, Farmers of the King's Customs, Farmers of the King's Rent, Colonels, Captains, Rent-Gatherers, Custom-Gatherers, Watchmen, and all Under Officers, now in being, and that shall be, in these kingdoms of Bengala and Orixa, DECLARETH, that Walter Clavell, the English Captain, this day presented his suit before me, averring, according to Letters Patent of the mighty Emperor (Shah Jehan) and Prince Sultan Shah Sujah, as also by the Phyrwana, or Order, of Meer Jumbla, the Cawne of Cawnes, deceased, the custom of all goods exported and imported, bought or sold, belonging to the English Company, to be released.

WHEREUPON I also give my confirmation of the same; and order, that according to the said Letters Patent, &c. you govern yourselves: And whatsoever goods the said Company shall import from Ballasore, or any other place near the sea-side, up to Hugly, Cossimbuzar, Patana, or any other place in these two kingdoms; as also what saltpetre, or any other goods, they shall export from Patana, or any other place, to Ballasore, or any other port to the sea; that you let them pass custom free, without any let, impediment, or demands whatsoever: And wherever they have factories or warehouses, that you help their factors in getting in their due debts from any weavers, merchants, &c. that really appear to be indebted to them, without giving protection to any such person so indebted whereby they may any ways be wronged. And whatsoever boats, &c. whether their own or freighted, let them not be stopped on any pretence whatsoever, but suffered to pass without molestation. And notwithstanding I have lately, by reason of a great outrage committed by the Dutch, absolutely forbidden them any trade in these kingdoms aforesaid, so that Governors and other officers have took occasion to stop and hinder the English trade, which I have not interdicted, with that of the Dutch, which I have strictly forbidden, I do declare that the English never committed any offence of so high a nature that their trade should be hindered; and therefore I resolve and order, as before, that, according to the above-mentioned Order, and as their trade has for so many years quietly and without impediment gone on in these kingdoms aforesaid, that it now also be not hindered, but that whatever their factors and other servants shall buy or sell as aforesaid be no ways letted or impeded. And that I may hear no more complaints from the English in this matter, see that this my Order be strictly observed.

[*A Diary kept by Streynsham Master, 1675 to 1676.* No. 120, p. 348-49.]

## APPENDIX, No. IV. (referred to in p. 303),

Being the *Nishan of Sultan Mohammed Azim*, is nearly a copy of the above, therefore not inserted.

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## APPENDIX, No. V. (referred to in p. 309.)

### *Copy of the Emperor Aurungzebe's Firmaun.*

A. D. 1680. A. H. 1091.

IN the name of GOD, Amen.

TO all present and future Rulers in Surat, that remain in hopes of the Emperor's favour,

Be it known, that at this happy birth of time it is agreed, of the English Nation, besides their usual custom of 2 per cent for their goods, more 1½ jezia, or poll-money, shall be taken.

Wherefore it is commanded, That in the said place, from the first day of Shuvaal, in the 23d year of our reign, of the said people, 3 and a half rupees per cent. of all their goods, on account of custom and poll-money, be taken for the future. And at all other places, upon this account, let no one hinder or molest them for custom, rawdarree, peashcus, phirmaish, and other matters by the Emperor's Court forbidden, nor to make any demands in these particulars: observe. Written on the 23d day of the month Suffer, in the year twenty-three.

[N.B. The obscure part of this paper, and which gave rise to the disputes, commences with "And at all other."—*C. S.*]

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## APPENDIX, No. VI. (referred to in p. 325.)

### *Copy of the Phirmaund given by the Mogul Aurungzebe to Nabob Ebrahim Caun for Bengal, dated the 23d of April, 1690, and in the 33d year of the King's reign.* A. H. 1101.

YOU must understand, that it has been the good fortune of the English to repent them of their irregular past proceedings; and their not being in their former greatness, have, by

their vackeels, petitioned for their lives, and a pardon for their faults, which, out of my extraordinary favour towards them, have accordingly granted: Therefore, upon receipt hereof, my Phirmaund, you must not create them any further trouble, but let them trade freely in your Government as formerly: And this order I expect you see strictly observed.

[No. 274, page 122.]

## APPENDIX, No. VII. (referred to in p. 326.)

### *Copy of a Phirmaun of the Emperor Aurungzebe, dated the 23d of the month Jummaudee Auvull, in the 33d year of the most glorious reign,* A. H. 1101. *Sent from Surat* 1690.

ALL the English having made a most humble, submissive Petition, that the ill crimes they have done may be pardoned, and requested a noble Phirmaun, to make their being forgiven manifest, and sent their vacqueel to the heavenly palace, the most illustrious in the world, to get the royal favour; and Ettimatt Caun, the Governor of Surat,'s Petition to the famous court equal to the sky, being arrived, that they would present the Great King with a fine of 150,000 rupees to his noble treasury, resembling the sun, and would restore the merchants' goods they took away to the owners of them, and would walk by the ancient customs of the Port, and behave themselves for the future no more in such a shameful manner: Therefore His Majesty, according to his daily favours to all the people of the world, hath pardoned their faults, mercifully forgiving them: and out of his princely condescensions agrees, that the present be put into the treasury of the Port; the goods of the merchants returned; the town flourishing; and they follow their trade as in former times; and Mr. Child, who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled. This order is irreversible.

[No. 274. p. 38, 39.]

## APPENDIX, No. VIII. (referred to in p. 326.)

### *Translate of the Nabob Ebrahim Cawn and King's Duan's General Perwanna, for the English their paying only Rupees* 3000 *yearly for their Trade.* A. H. 1002-3. A. D. 1691-2.

TO all Mutsuddies, Carrowries, Jaggerdars, Gomastehs, Phousdars, Jimmedars, Conongees, belonging to the Subahship of Bengal, now in service or that shall be hereafter,

Be it known, that, before this, an ample Husbullhookum for the pardoning all the faults of the English has arrived to me from the King, under the seal of Lutfullah Cawne; since that, another Husbullhookum, under the seal of Assud Cawne, arrived from the King to Kafait Cawne, his Duan, the copy of which is arrived in my Secretary's office from said Kafait Cawne, which is, viz. That he should, according to ancient custom, take rupees 3000, as a

pishcash of the English in lieu of custom, yearly; and not demand, or ask, on any account whatever, more than that: the copy of which Husbullhookum is writ on the back side of this Perwanna. For this reason I write you, That, from the beginning of the 34th year of Jeloose (or the King's reign), according to the King's order, ye, instead of custom, take but rupees 3000 of them yearly; and that in their buying and selling, you take not a pice more; that they may contentedly continue their trade in the places of their former residence, as Hugley, Ballasore, &c. under the government of this subahship; and that ye assist their gomastehs in their lawful and just business upon all accounts: And that not one, upon the account of Rawdari, Jimmedare, or Firmashe, &c. be suffered to defraud or molest them, it being forbidden by the King. God forbid that in any one's government robberies be committed; but if so, that the Phousdars of said places use their endeavours to find and restore said goods to the owner. Dated the second day of the moon, in the 35th year of Jeloose.

[*Received per Orange* 1692. No. 265. A.]

## APPENDIX, No. IX. (referred to in p. 326.)

### *Translate of an Husbullhookum, under Assid Cawn's Seal, upon Kefait Cawne, Duan of Dacca, for the English's paying Three Thousand Rupees annual Pishcash, in lieu of Custom, (procured by the aforesaid Kefait Cawn's Letter), dated the Twenty-first of Jemadestanny, in the Thirty-fourth Year of the King's reign, or February the Tenth,* 1691. A. H. 1002.

PETITION being made, That you writ that an Husbullhookum, under the seal of Lutfoola Cawn, was come to the Viceroy, that the English should trade according to ancient usage; that of that nation two or three were arrived in the port of Hugley; and that Mahmoud Eckbar, officer of said port, had given them encouragement, and taken an obligation from them that they would give custom on their merchandize, as hereafter should be determined; that in said Husbullhookum nothing was mentioned concerning the receipt of custom, neither was it under the Vizier's seal what had been determined; that their ancient usage, to your knowledge, was rupees 3000 annual pishcash, for which they carried on their trade and business; that after that, it was determined for them to pay custom 3½ per cent. as they did in Surat; and that now, for the receipt of custom from this nation, you would act according to order; and that it was agreed on formerly for them to pay 3000 rupees annual pishcash; that in the year 1090 it was resolved they should pay 3½ per cent. including poll-money, and that in Surat they pay the same now. What would His Majesty please to order? Upon which the King gave order, that pishcash should be received of them according to ancient usage. Therefore I write you, That you act according to the Phirmaund; and advise of the contents hereof.

[*Received per Orange* 1692. No. 275. A.]

## APPENDIX, No. X. (referred to in p. 342.)

### *Translate of a Dustuck granted to Sir Edward Littleton, by Order of the Prince Sultan Mahmood Assam Ooshan, given under the Seal of his Duan, Allee Reza, for Trade in the Province of Bengala, dated the 12th Day of Rajebe, in the 43d Year of the King's Reign, Anno Hedgero* iiii. *January 26th, Anno Christi* 1700.

DUSTUCK to the Fousdars, Jaggerdars, and all of the Government under Dacca, Hughly, Cassimbazar, Balasore and Rajahmaul, &c. in the Province of Bengal.

Know ye, that the request of Sir Edward Littleton, Consul and President for the New English Company, is to settle factories and commerce in this province; for that end he hath sent a Vackeel to procure the King's Phirmaund, and is ready at present with the King's Duan to settle his piscash; and that now is the monsoon for his shipping; therefore he requests and hopes the Prince will grant him an order to trade and carry on his business. It is therefore ordered, that they merchandize and commerce in the same method as the Old Company does in this province with satisfaction; and that when his piscash is agreed on, and paid in, then he shall have a Neshaun. This is therefore an Order to you, the Fousdars, Jaggerdars, &c. of the Government, that you do not any way hinder them, or molest them, in their merchandize.

[Vol. XXI. p. 391-393. No. 443, 223, p. 102, 103.]

[N.B. This is in favour of the New Company. The Nishān to the Old Company does not appear in the Records, but the substance of it is repeated in the following Number.]

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## APPENDIX, No. XI. (referred to in p. 400.)

### *The Emperor Ferrokhsere's Phirmaund for Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa.* A. D. 1717. A. H. 1129.

TO all Governors and their Assistants, Intelligencers, Jaggerdars, Phousdars, Collectors, Guardians of the Ways, Keepers of the Passages, and Zemeendars, that are at present or hereafter may come in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, at the port of Hugly, &c. ports in the provinces aforesaid;

By these presents know ye, from the favour of the Imperial Majesty, that, at this time of conquest, and in this flourishing reign, Mr. John Surman and Coja Surhaud, gomashtahs

(factors) of the English Company, have humbly presented their petition, setting forth, That, according to Sultain Azzim Shah Bahauder his, and former, Sunods, they are free of customs throughout the whole conquered empire, the port of Surat excepted; and that they do annually pay into the treasury, at the port of Hugly, a pishcash of 3000 rupees, in lieu of customs; they hope that, according to the tenor of former Sunods, they may be favoured with a gracious Phirmaund confirming them. COMMANDED AND ORDERED, That all their mercantile affairs, together with their gomastahs, have free liberty, in all Subahships, to pass and repass to and fro, either by land or water, in any port or district throughout the several provinces abovesaid. And Know, they are custom free; that they have full power and liberty to buy and sell at their will and pleasure; and that there yearly be received into the treasury a pishcash of 3000 rupees, as has been customary heretofore: that if in any place, or at any time, robberies are committed on their goods, they be assisted in the getting of them again, that the robbers be brought to justice, and the goods be delivered to the proprietors of them. In whatsoever place they have a mind to settle a factory, fairly to buy and sell goods in, they have liberty; and be assisted. That on whomsoever, merchants, weavers, &c. they have any demands, on whatsoever account, let them be aided, and their debtors brought to a true and fair account, and be made to give their gomashtahs their right and just demands. That no persons be suffered to injure and molest their gomashtahs wrongfully and unjustly. And for customs on hired boats (*cutcarrah*), &c. belonging to them, that they be not in any manner molested or obstructed.

They further petition, That if the petty Duans of Subahships demand sight of the original Sunods and Perwannas, under the seals of the Duans and Subahs, the original Sunods cannot possibly be produced in any place without a great deal of difficulty, they desire that a copy from under the seal of the Chief Cauzee be sufficient, sight of the original Sunods not being demanded, nor they forced to take Sunods and Perwannas under the Duan and Subah their seals. That the rentings of Calcutta, Chuttanutty, and Govindpore, in the Purgana of Ameirabaud, &c. in Bengal, were formerly granted them, and bought by consent from the Zemeendars of them, and are now in the Company's possession, for which they yearly pay the sum of 1195*R.* 6*A.* That thirty-eight towns more, amounting to 8121*R.* 8*A.* adjoining to the aforesaid towns, which they hope the renting of may be granted, and added to those they are already in possession of; that they will pay annually the same amount of them. COMMANDED, That the copy under the seal of the Chief Cauzee be regarded; that the old towns formerly bought by them remain in their hands as heretofore; and that they have the renting of the adjacent towns petitioned for, which they are to buy from the respective owners of them; and that the Duan and Subah give permission.

They still petition, That from the reign of Aurengzebe, Madras coins were received into the Subaship's treasuries for under value, and are still, notwithstanding they are full as valuable as Surat rupees are, whereby they are great losers; they hope the Imperial order may be given for them to be received into the treasuries as Surat rupees are, in case they are as good. That any person, being servant to the Company, eloping from them, from whom debts and accounts are due, they desire that whosoever so deserts be delivered back to the Chief of their Factory. That their gomashtahs and servants are molested and troubled for phousdarry, (*abuab mumnua,*) &c. impositions which they request they may be exempted from.

COMMANDED AND ORDERED, That from the fifth year of this blessed reign, if Madras rupees are made the same goodness as Surat siccas, there be no discount on them. That whosoever of the Company's servants, being debtors, desert them; seize them, and deliver them to the chief of their Factory. That they be not molested for phirmaushs and impositions.

They petition, That in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the Company have Factories; and that in other places they likewise design to settle Factories: they accordingly desire, that in any place where they have a mind to settle Factories they may have forty begaes of ground given them for the same. That it often happens ships at sea meet with tempestuous winds, and are forced into ports, and are sometimes driven ashore and wrecked, the Governors of the ports injuriously seize on the cargoes of them, and in some places demand a quarter part salvage. That in the island of Bombay, belonging to the English, European siccas are current; they request that, according to the custom of Madras, they may at Bombay coin siccas. COMMANDED AND ORDERED, That, according to the custom of their Factories in other subahships, execute; these people having their Factories in several ports of the kingdom, and commerce to the place of the royal residence, and have obtained very favourable Phirmāns custom free. Let there be particular care taken that there be duly assistance given them about goods and wrecks, on all occasions. On the island of Bombay, let there be the glorious stamp upon the siccas coined there; passing them current, as all other siccas are, throughout the whole empire. To all these render punctual obedience, observing and acting pursuant to the tenor of this gracious Phirmān, and not contrary in any respect whatsoever; nor demand yearly new sunods. Regard this particularly well.

Written the 27th of the moon Mohurum, in the fifth year of this glorious and ever happy reign.

[*East-India Records*, Book No. 593.]

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## APPENDIX, No. XII. (referred to in p. 516.)

## *Treaty and Agreements with Serajah Dowla, dated Feb. 7, 1757.*

A. H. 1170.

Monsoor ul Mulck Serajah Dowla Shah
Kuly Khan Behauder, Hybut Jung,
Servant of King Aalum Geer the Invincible.

ARTICLE I.

THAT the Company be not molested upon account of such privileges as have been granted them by the King's Firmaund and Husbulhookums, and the Firmaund and Husbulhookums in full force.

That the thirty-eight Villages, which were given to the Company by the Firmaund, but detained from them by the Soubah, be likewise allowed them, nor let any impediment or restriction be put upon the Zemindars.

ARTICLE II.

That all goods belonging to the English Company, and having their Dustuck, do pass freely by land or water, in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, without paying any duties or fees of any kind whatsoever; and that the Zemindars, Chokeydars, Guzerbauns, &c. offer them no kind of molestation upon this account.

ARTICLE III.

That restitution be made the Company of their Factories and Settlements at Calcutta, Cossimbuzar, Dacca, &c. which have been taken from them.

That all money and effects, taken from the English Company, their factors and dependents, at the several Settlements and Aurungs, be restored in the same condition: that an equivalent, in money, be given for such goods as are damaged, plundered, or lost, which shall be left to the Nabob's justice to determine.

ARTICLE IV.

That the Company be allowed to fortify Calcutta, in such manner as they shall esteem proper for their defence, without any hindrance or obstruction.

ARTICLE V.

That siccas be coined at Allenagur (Calcutta) in the same manner as at Moorshedabad, and that the money, struck in Calcutta, be of equal weight and fineness with that of Moorshedabad. There shall be no demand made for a deduction of Batta.

ARTICLE VI.

That these proposals be ratified in the strongest manner, in the presence of God and his Prophet, and signed and sealed to by the Nabob, and some of his principal people.

ARTICLE VII.

And Admiral Charles Watson and Col. Clive promise, in behalf of the English Nation, and of the English Company, that from henceforth all hostilities shall cease, in Bengal; and the English will always remain in peace and friendship with the Nabob, as long as these articles are kept in force, and remain unviolated.

Witness, *Lucki Narain Canongo.*

Aaz ul Mulck Morad ul Dowla
Nowazish Ally Khan Behauder, Zabooar Jung,
a Servant of King Aalum Geer the Invincible.

Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder,
a Servant of King Aalum Geer
the Invincible.

Rajah Doolubram Behauder,
a Servant of King Aalum Geer
the Invincible.

Witness, *Mohindar Narain Canongo*

## APPENDIX, No. XIII. (referred to in p. 522.)

## *Treaty with Jaffier Ally Khan.*

* *I swear, by God and the Prophet of God, to abide by the terms of this Treaty whilst I have life.*

Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Behauder,
Servant of King Aalum Geer.

*Treaty made with the Admiral, and Colonel Clive [Sabut Jung Behauder], Governor Drake, and Mr. Watts.*

ARTICLE I.

Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob, Serajah Dowla Monsoor ul Mulck Shah Kuly Khan Behauder, Hybut Jung, I agree to comply with.

ARTICLE II.

The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

ARTICLE III.

All the Effects and Factories, belonging to the French, in the province of Bengal (the Paradise of nations), and Bahar, and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the Three Provinces.

ARTICLE IV.

In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained, by the capture and plunder of Calcutta, by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of the forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.

ARTICLE V.

For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees.

ARTICLE VI.

For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmen, and other subjects of Calcutta, twenty lacks of rupees shall be given.

ARTICLE VII.

For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of seven lacks of rupees. The distribution of the sums, allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos, and Mussulmen, shall be left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive (Sabut Jung Behauder) and the rest of the Council, to be disposed of by them to whom they think proper.

ARTICLE VIII.

Within the ditch, which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to several Zemindars; besides this, I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.

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* These words were written in his own hand.

ARTICLE IX.

All the land laying to the South of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the Zemindarry of the English Company; and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other Zemindars.

ARTICLE X.

Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of them.

ARTICLE XI.

I will not erect any new fortifications below Hughley, near the River Ganges.

ARTICLE XII.

As soon as I am established in the Government of the Three Provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

*Dated the 15th Ramzan, in the 4th Year of the Reign.* A. D. 1757. A. H. 1170.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.—ARTICLE XIII.

On condition that Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder shall solemnly ratify, confirm by oath, and execute all the above Articles, which the underwritten, on behalf of the Honourable East India Company, do, declaring on the Holy Gospels, and before God, that we will assist Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder with all our force, to obtain the Soubahship of the province of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and further, that we will assist him to the utmost, against all his enemies whatever, as soon as he calls upon us for that end; provided that he, on his coming to be Nabob, shall fulfil the aforesaid Articles.

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[N.B. The last two Numbers are taken from a Book, entitled "Treaties and Grants from the Country Powers to the East-India Company," published A. D. 1774.]

# EXPLANATION

OF

# THE TITLES OF THE GOVERNORS

UNDER THE

# MOGHUL DYNASTY

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* Hussein was the grandson of Mohammed, and is adored by the Persians.

† Nuwab is the plural of Naib, a deputy; and may possibly mean the King's Deputy in all Departments. It is a modern title.

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* Jaffier has no meaning, but was the name of a celebrated Vizier under the Birmecide Princes. Moorshud means, literally, a Spiritual Guide, but is often applied to Kings.

† Behadur is said to be a Tartar word, and the precise meaning not understood; but it now accompanies every Military title. If it were a Persian word, the meaning of it would be (Valuable as a Pearl).

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